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MAPS AND PLANS

TO ILLUSTRATE

PAUSANIAS'S DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

COMPILED BY

SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER

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FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
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WITH EXPLANATORY TEXT BY

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PREFACE

THE merits of Sir James Frazer's edition (1898) of Pausanias have been familiar to a generation of scholars pursuing the study of the topography and monuments of Greece either on the spot or in libraries. They require no emphasis here: the work has itself become a classic. A special feature and a notable embellishment of those volumes consisted in the series of maps and plans, both coloured plates and text illustrations, in which the scholarship and judgement of the editor were interpreted by means of some of the best craftsmanship that was available. This material has served its purpose well; and it is capable of further and more general usefulness. When Sir James expressed his desire that it should be reissued separately, accompanied by the modicum of text required to bring its meaning into relief, as a portable atlas for travellers following literally or in spirit in the footsteps of Pausanias, and when he added that the present nature of his own scholarly undertakings precluded the possibility of his preparing such a text himself, it appeared to me to be the duty of one who for years past had benefited by the guidance and inspiration of the *Pausanias* to offer to this new project such collaboration as might lie within my powers—a slight return for the services which the *Pausanias* has rendered to scholarship. The preparation of one condensed page of text to face each plate, though demanding, on practical grounds, the exclusion of much matter which would have had interest, has proved less a tax on the compiler's ingenuity than a delightful privilege; it has been rendered easy, and the result has been assured of greater effectiveness, by Sir James's consent that the apposite passages in his own commentary should be incorporated in the new text. Economy of space has dictated terseness and at times uncomely abbreviation; but it is hoped that, even in this form, something of the feeling for topographical significance and something of the reverence for the works of the men of olden days which pervades the original commentary may have found its way into the present volume.

The plates, and a selection of the text-illustrations, are reissued without change, except that we are indebted to the Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for permission to reproduce Plan No. XXVI, Corinth; to the Director of the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut of Vienna for Plan No. XLII, 2, Market-Place at Elis; and to M. E. de Boccard for permission to reproduce Plan No. LVI, Delphi, Athena Pronaia, from *Fouilles de Delphes*, Tome II; while Plan No. XXXV, Sparta, has been adapted so as to include the results of excavations conducted by

the British School at Athens, through the kind co-operation of Mr. A. M. Woodward, former Director of that institution.

When necessary, attention is called to the points in which the plans require revision in the light of the thirty and more years that have elapsed since their preparation ; such changes are occasioned chiefly by the evidence yielded through fresh excavations, and where there have been no extensive developments of this sort, the record set forth so long ago still retains practically its full value, save indeed as the economic forces of our own time have left their mark on the landscape, especially in improved means of communication.

The few references to recent publications which have been introduced may be acceptable to scholars, partly as justification for the views expressed in the text, and partly as guides to the voluminous literature of the past thirty years.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

ROME, *September* 1929.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF REFERENCES TO THE <i>Pausanias</i>	viii
TABLE OF REFERENCES FROM THE <i>Pausanias</i>	ix
INTRODUCTION	xi
I. Key Map to Greece. II. Attica. III. Argolis. IV. Laconia. V. Messenia. VI. Elis. VII. Achaia. VIII. Arcadia. IX. Boeotia. X. Phocis. XI. Temple of Poseidon at Sunium. XII. The Piraeus. XIII. Dipylum. XIV. Ancient Athens. XV. 1. Plan of Olympieum. „ 2. Central Structure in Hadrian's Library (?) at Athens. „ 3. Health Athena Basis. XVI. The Acropolis. XVII. Plan of Propylaea. XVIII. 1. Parthenon. „ 2. Erechtheum and Temple Destroyed by the Persians. XIX. Erechtheum. XX. Modern Athens and Neighbourhood. XXI. Marathon. XXII. Rhamnus. XXIII. Oropus. XXIV. Eleusis. XXV. Megara and Nisaea. XXVI. Corinth. XXVII. Mycenae. XXVIII. 1. Mycenae, Treasury of Atreus. „ 2. Tiryns, Transverse Section through the South Wall. XXIX. Argive Heraeum. XXX. Tiryns.	XXXI. The Sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus. XXXII. The Rotunda at Epidaurus. XXXIII. 1. Theatre at Epidaurus. „ 2. Temple at Aegina. XXXIV. Sanctuary of Poseidon in Calauria. XXXV. Sparta. XXXVI. Messene. XXXVII. 1. Arcadian Gate at Messene. „ 2. Gate of Mantinea. „ 3. Alea. XXXVIII. Pylus and Sphacteria. XXXIX. Olympia. XL. Zeus Temple at Olympia. XLI. Heraeum at Olympia. XLII. 1. Hippodrome at Olympia. „ 2. Market-Place at Elis. XLIII. Mantinea. XLIV. Megalopolis. XLV. 1. Market-Place at Megalopolis, Conjectural Plan. „ 2. Dritsa. XLVI. Theatre at Megalopolis. XLVII. Sanctuary of the Mistress at Lycosura. XLVIII. Temple at Bassae. XLIX. Mantinea and Tegea. L. Plataea. LI. Ancient Thebes. LII. The Copaic Lake District. LIII. 1. Gla. „ 2. Palace at Gla. LIV. Delphi before the French Excavations. LV. Delphi, Plan of Excavations of Main Sanctuary. LVI. Delphi, Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia. LVII. 1. Lilaea. „ 2. Charadra (?). LVIII. 1. Abae. „ 2. Gateway at Abae.

TABLE OF REFERENCES TO THE *PAUSANIAS*

I	Vol. VI, Map I	xxxii 1, 2	Vol. III, p. 246, figs. 40, 41
II	" " " II	xxxiii 1	" " p. 252, fig. 42
III	" " " III	" 2	" " p. 269, fig. 44
IV	" " " IV	xxxiv	" " V, to face p. 598
V	" " " V	xxxv	" " III, to face p. 324
VI	" " " VI	xxxvi	" " to face p. 430
VII	" " " VII	xxxvii 1	" " p. 430, fig. 53
VIII	" " " VIII	" 2	" " IV, p. 203, fig. 26
IX	" " " IX	" 3	" " p. 277, fig. 31
X	" " " X	xxxviii	" " III, to face p. 456
XI	" " II, to face p. 2	xxxix	" " to face p. 490
XII	" " to face p. 8	xl	" " p. 495, fig. 57
XIII	" " to face p. 42	xli	" " p. 586, fig. 74
XIV	" " to face p. 46	xlii 1	" " IV, p. 83, fig. 6
xv 1	" " p. 180, fig. 7	xliii	" " p. 211, fig. 30
" 2	" " V, p. 492, fig.	xliv	" " to face p. 318
" 3	" " II, p. 278, fig. 14	xlvi 1	" " p. 321, fig. 34
xvi	" " to face p. 248	" 2	" " V, p. 64, fig. 2
xvii	" " p. 251, fig. 10	xlvi	" " IV, p. 332, fig. 35
xviii 1	" " p. 304, fig. 25	xlvi	" " V, to face p. 622
" 2	" " p. 333, fig. 36	xlvi	" " IV, p. 393, fig. 41
xix	" " to face p. 334	xlvi	" " to face p. 420
xx	" " to face p. 398	l	" " V, p. 9, fig. 1
xxi	" " to face p. 432	li	" " to face p. 32
xxii	" " p. 452, fig. 39	lii	" " to face p. 110
xxiii	" " to face p. 466	liii 1	" " p. 121, fig. 6
xxiv	" " to face p. 504	" 2	" " p. 124, fig. 7
xxv	" " p. 540, fig. 43	liv	" " to face p. 248
xxvii	" " III, to face p. 98	lv	" " to face p. 258
xxviii 1	" " p. 124, fig. 23	lvii 1	" " p. 412, fig. 15
" 2	" " p. 220, fig. 36	" 2	" " p. 416, fig. 16
xxix	" " to face p. 166	lviii 1	" " p. 437, fig. 18
xxx	" " to face p. 218	" 2	" " p. 438, fig. 19
xxxi	" " V, to face p. 570		

TABLE OF REFERENCES FROM THE *PAUSANIAS*

Vol. II, to face p. 2, XI	Vol. IV, p. 211, fig. 30, XLIII
„ „ to face p. 8, XII	„ „ p. 277, fig. 31, XXXVII 3
„ „ to face p. 42, XIII	„ „ to face p. 318, XLIV
„ „ to face p. 46, XIV	„ „ p. 321, fig. 34, XLV I
„ „ p. 180, fig. 7, XV I	„ „ p. 332, fig. 35, XLVI
„ „ p. 278, fig. 14, XV 3	„ „ p. 393, fig. 41, XLVIII
„ „ to face p. 248, XVI	„ „ to face p. 420, XLIX
„ „ p. 251, fig. 10, XVII	„ V, p. 9, fig. 1, L
„ „ p. 304, fig. 25, XVIII I	„ „ to face p. 32, LI
„ „ p. 333, fig. 36, XVIII 2	„ „ p. 64, fig. 2, XLV 2
„ „ to face p. 334, XIX	„ „ to face p. 110, LII
„ „ to face p. 398, XX	„ „ p. 121, fig. 6, LIII I
„ „ to face p. 432, XXI	„ „ p. 124, fig. 7, LIII 2
„ „ p. 452, fig. 39, XXII	„ „ to face p. 248, LIV
„ „ to face p. 466, XXIII	„ „ to face p. 258, LV
„ „ to face p. 504, XXIV	„ „ p. 412, fig. 15, LVII I
„ „ p. 540, fig. 43, XXV	„ „ p. 416, fig. 16, LVII, 2
„ III, to face p. 93, XXVII	„ „ p. 437, fig. 18, LVIII I
„ „ p. 124, fig. 23, XXVIII I	„ „ p. 438, fig. 19, LVIII 2
„ „ p. 220, fig. 36, XXVIII 2	„ „ p. 492, fig., XV 2
„ „ to face p. 166, XXIX	„ „ to face p. 570, XXXI
„ „ to face p. 218, XXX	„ „ to face p. 598, XXXIV
„ „ p. 246, figs. 40, 41, XXXII	„ „ to face p. 622, XLVII
„ „ p. 252, fig. 42, XXXIII I	„ VI, Map I, I
„ „ p. 269, fig. 44, XXXIII 2	„ „ „ II, II
„ „ to face p. 324, XXXV	„ „ „ III, III
„ „ to face p. 430, XXXVI	„ „ „ IV, IV
„ „ p. 430, fig. 53, XXXVII I	„ „ „ V, V
„ „ to face p. 456, XXXVIII	„ „ „ VI, VI
„ „ to face p. 490, XXXIX	„ „ „ VII, VII
„ „ p. 495, fig. 57, XL	„ „ „ VIII, VIII
„ „ p. 586, fig. 74, XLI	„ „ „ IX, IX
„ IV, p. 83, fig. 6, XLII I	„ „ „ X, X
„ „ p. 203, fig. 26, XXXVII 2	

INTRODUCTION

AN atlas to illustrate Pausanias is *ipso facto* an atlas of Greek geography and of the topography and monuments of the cities and shrines of Greece : the circumstances of its origin give it an antiquarian tendency, with especial leaning towards the antiquities of religious tradition and ritual. The purpose of these first pages is to set forth the relations and significance of Pausanias's work.

In his treatise we possess a plain, unvarnished account by an eye-witness of the state of Greece in the second century of our era. Of no other part of the ancient world has a description at once so minute and so trustworthy survived, and if we had been free to single out one country in one era of which we should wish a record to be preserved, our choice might well have fallen on Greece in the age of the Antonines ; it was the mellow autumn—perhaps rather the Indian summer—of the ancient world : depopulation had set in ; and the barbarians were at the gates.

The little we know of the life of our author is gathered entirely from his writings. The books were written in the order in which they stand ; the first book, the description of Athens, certainly had been finished by 160 or 161 A.D. at latest, and perhaps as early as 143 A.D., and had been published before the others. Books 6 to 10 were written not earlier than 174 A.D., and may have been composed a good deal later than that year. Thus the composition of the work extended over a period of at least 14 years and probably many more ; with this accords a development in technique, a widening of the intellectual horizon, and a radical change of attitude towards the religious traditions of the country which Pausanias had chosen for his life study.

He was not a native of Greece proper, but appears to have been a Lydian, and was certainly familiar with the Western Coast of Asia Minor. He had clearly travelled extensively, even to Egypt and the Libyan desert, and to Campania and Rome ; but it was to the recording and interpretation of the monuments of Greece itself that he dedicated the best part of his life.

His *Description of Greece* is a guide-book, arranged in topographical order ; it seems clear that Pausanias intended to record all the most notable objects and to narrate all the most memorable traditions which he found existing or current in the Greece of his time. His method at the start, in dealing with Attica, is in part of an experimental nature ; but when once he has fully grasped his problem and developed his method, the general principle on which he arranges his matter is this : after narrating in outline the history of the district he is about to describe he proceeds from the frontier to the capital by the nearest road, noting anything of interest that strikes him by the way. Arrived at the capital he goes straight to the centre of it, generally to the market-place, describes the chief buildings and monuments there, and then follows the streets, one after the other, that radiate from the centre in all directions, record-

ing the most remarkable objects in each of them. Having finished his account of the capital he describes the surrounding district on the same principle. When he has exhausted all the main highways that branch from the city, and has reached the end of the last of them, he crosses the boundary into the next district, which he then proceeds to describe after the same fashion. This arrangement of the topographical material is clear : the routes do not cross each other, confusion is avoided ; but it has an element of convention, as it is obvious that neither Pausanias nor his readers could follow it in an entirely literal manner ; manifestly the order has been adopted for the sake of lucidity.

The interests revealed by the substance of the book are mainly antiquarian and religious : Pausanias gives few indications of having interested himself either in the natural beauties of Greece or in the ordinary activities of his contemporaries ; his work is a storehouse of information as to the religious life of the people, their superstitious customs and beliefs, the folk-tales, myths and legends that were still to be gathered from the lips of the guides at the shrines and the peasants on the land. It is this tendency which imparts its tone to his description of the country and its monuments ; his choice of the latter favours the old rather than the new, the religious rather than the profane ; he is attracted by curious relics of all sorts, especially if there were quaint stories attached to them ; but his religious bias by no means so warped his mind as to render him indifferent to the historic ground which he trod and to those monuments of great men and memorable events on which his eyes must have fallen at almost every turn, and especially at the great centres of national life, Athens, Olympia and Delphi.

His intelligence and abilities seem to have been little above the average, his opinions not very different from those of his contemporaries ; his work probably gains thereby in value for us. His conscientiousness is patent, the essential truthfulness of his account should never have been called in question. His literary style, in spite of his use of some of the best models, is heavy and laboured ; clarity, the prime requisite in a topographer, he did not attain save after an obviously difficult struggle ; his earlier efforts at adornment were not crowned with success ; in his later books he arrives at what, relatively, may be termed ease in marshalling and presenting his material ; the sense of dignity which the work as a whole assuredly conveys is due to the fidelity with which a simple nature can act as medium for an exalted theme.

The question of the sources of Pausanias has given rise to voluminous scientific discussion. In matters of history, as in literature, he comes at the end of a long tradition, and quite properly he made extensive use of earlier writings and documents for the elucidation of his special field ; but for the actual description of things existing in his own day there is every reason to accept him, generally speaking, as an eye-witness.

I
KEY MAP TO GREECE

KEY MAP TO GREECE

PAUSANIAS'S route is an orderly one : starting with Attica, culturally the most significant part of Greece and topographically the easternmost, he then takes up the regions of the Peloponnese in the order of a spiral working from left to right and finally reaching its centre in Arcadia ; after which he crosses the Gulf of Corinth to Boeotia, and adopts a course from E. to W. The description of Attica has been transmitted without an historical introduction such as is prefixed to each of the subsequent books ; and no general preface has reached us, if there ever was one. The work now ends with the Ozolian Locrians, and the promise of a section on the Opuntian Locrians (ix. 23. 7) is unfulfilled ; it may have been the writer's intention to carry his account still further and include Thessaly and the regions to the W. ; but, as the map shows, there is topographical, and we may add historical, unity in a theme which starts at the S.-E. point of Attica and terminates at Naupactus, near the W. limit of the Gulf of Corinth.

The Key Map presents the characteristic elements in the structure of Greece, which conditioned the development of Greek civilisation and history : a series of tertiary limestone mountains formed about an earlier crystalline and metamorphic structure, the broken prolongation of the Balkan peninsula ; in the W. part of Central Greece they are confused in grouping, but attain a great height, especially N.-E. of Delphi (Parnassus, 8070 ft.) and in the range across the valley to the N.-W. of that cult centre (mod. Kiona, 8240 ft.) ; further E. they are less lofty, fall into more consistent ranges with a general W.-E. direction, and leave between them fertile valleys of some extent linked by low passes which offer no serious obstacle to migration or invasion. In N. Peloponnese, again, the configuration of the mountain masses is confused ; further S. they assume the form of parallel lines, running off somewhat E. of South ; Taygetus, separating Messenia from Laconia, is the loftiest (7900 ft.) ; the sharp definition of the historic regions and tribes of the country is due to its mountainous framework.

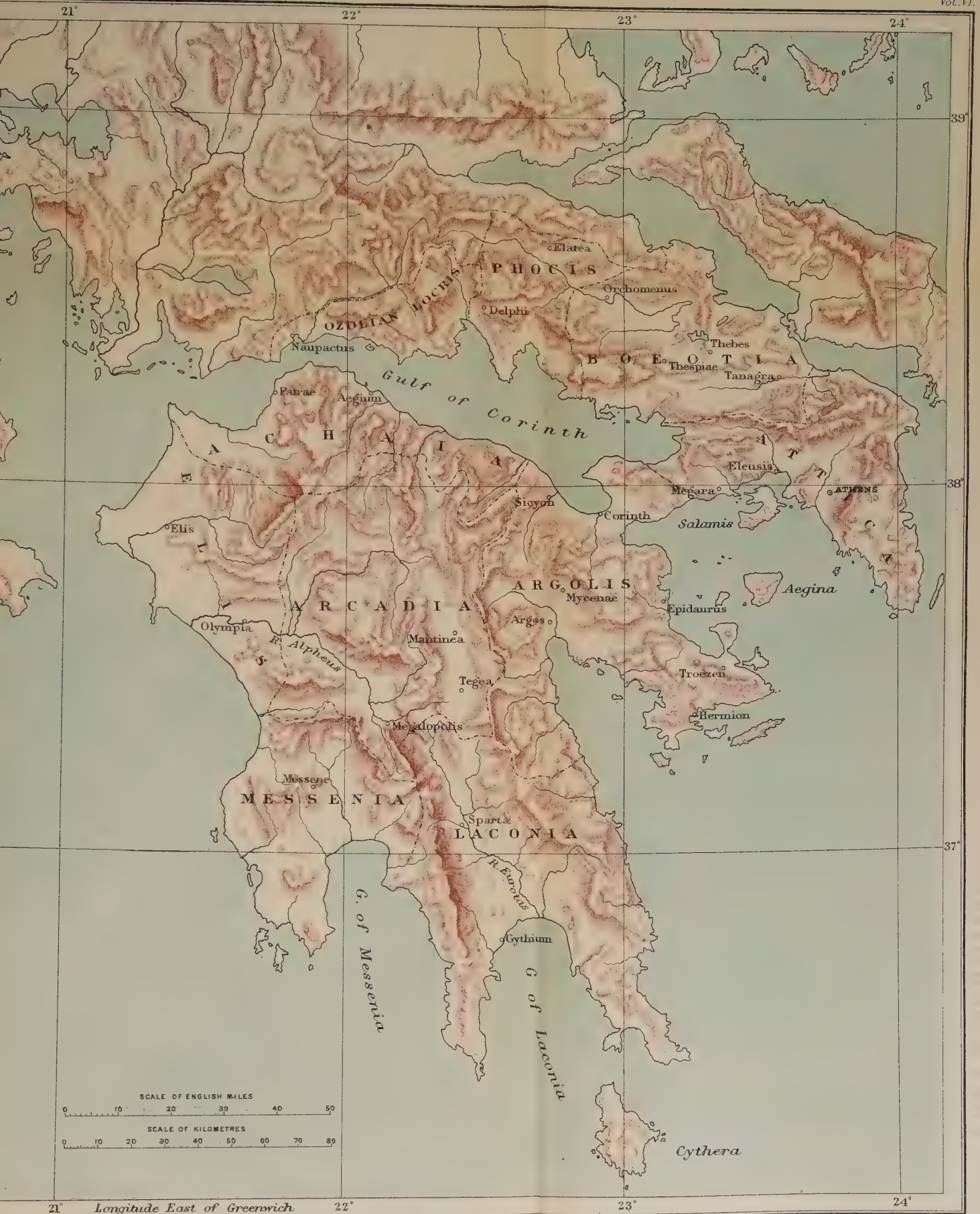
A concomitant of the lofty mountains consists of the deep inlets of the sea, which encouraged the people to take to navigation as strongly as the configuration of the land deterred them—in contrast with the Persians and Romans—from road-building. The W. coast lacks good harbours ; the W. portion of the Gulf of Corinth is enclosed by forbidding mountain slopes with only a fringe of plain at the water's edge ; hence the peninsula opens out towards the E. rather than the W., and Greeks have always felt themselves confronted with Asia rather than Europe.

The chief trade-routes and strategic lines were drawn on the surface of the land long before the indigenous population, or the Northern invaders, sought out the fertile soil of the plains or the metals which at a few exceptional points could reward initiative or serve as an object of strife. Deforestation, now conspicuous, took place in historic times ; malaria appears to have infested the regions where there was stagnant water from the fourth or third century B.C. down to our own day, and to have been a cause of depopulation. Natural resources are limited : as Herodotus said (vii. 102), "Greece ever hath poverty for a companion." But clear atmosphere, salubrious winds, the incomparable contours of the mountains, alternating with the richly-coloured sea which is never far distant, played their part in sharpening the senses of the inhabitants ; while at opportune moments the discovery of commodities such as the obsidian of Melos, the silver of S.-E. Attica, or the gold of the mountains of Thrace, gave the needed impetus to economic development ; and when the time came, the mountains of Attica, Naxos and Paros yielded worthy material in which the architects and sculptors might embody the ideals of the race.

Recent Publications on Greece in General : Bibliography in *Katalog der Bibl. d. K. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. in Rom*, i. (Rome, 1914). Current reports in *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, *Jahrbuch des Inst. (Arch. Anzeiger)*, *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, *Year's Work in Cl. St.* Various articles in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*. I. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, i., ii., iv., 1, 2 (Berlin, 1903-). Herodotus, iv.-ix., ed. Macan (London, 1895-1908). A. Struck, *Zur Landeskunde von Griechenland* (Frankfurt a. M., 1912). J. Ponten, *Griechische Landschaften* (Stuttgart & Berlin, 1914). O. Maull, *Gr. Mittelmeergebiet* (Breslau, 1922). E. Douglas Van Buren, *Gr. Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period* (London, 1926), pp. 3-72, Sites. V. Ehrenberg, *Gr. Land und Gr. Staat*, in *Die Antike*, iii. (1927), 304-325.

KEY MAP OF GREECE.

Vol. VI.



II
ATTICA

II

ATTICA

Correction of Map : Here as in other parts of Greece, the system of carriage roads has been greatly developed in recent years. A railway also extends from Athens, between Parnes and Pentelicus, then W. by Tanagra to Thebes, and on to Thessaly and Salonica. At Sunium, the legend should now be changed to TEMPLES OF POSEIDON AND ATHENA ; and on the island of Aegina, to TEMPLE OF APHAIA. The finding in 1921, not far inland from the small promontory of St. Cosmas, S.-E. of Old Phalerum, of an inscription of the deme Halimus, fixes the exact location of this deme, and tends to confirm the location of Cape Colias given on the present map (J. J. E. Hondius, in *Ann. Brit. Sch. at Athens*, xxiv. (1919-21), 151-160).

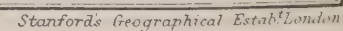
Investigations carried out in 1926 by Professor Soteriades in the region of Marathon (Woodward in *J. H. S.* xlvii. (1927), 254), have yielded valuable topographical results. In the pass between Mt. *Agrieli*ki and the *Vrexisa* Swamp he found acropolis walls with a circumference of *ca.* 300 metres, placed on a crag distant *ca.* 1.50 kilometres from the mound of the Athenians (see No. XXI), and scarcely a kilometre from the shore ; the place has a spring of good drinking water ; he proposes to identify it as Marathon. Probalinthus would have lain not far distant to the S., in the position indicated on the map on the evidence of the inscription, *I. G.* ii. 2507, which was found there (now at New York University), and Strabo, ix. 1. 22.

The first book of Pausanias starts with Cape Sunium, at the S.-E. corner of Attica ; he proceeds to Piraeus and Phalerum, then takes first the road from Phalerum to Athens and then the more frequented highway from Piraeus.

Though Athens itself is on the whole described in topographical order, the rest of Attica is not. In the description of the townships it is difficult to trace any such order ; Pausanias interrupts it to describe the Attic mountains (32. 1 f.), and having finished his account of the townships he describes all the islands together. Finally, he resumes a rigid topographical order when he starts (36. 3) on the highway from Athens to Eleusis ; this takes him on to Megara and eventually to the border of Corinthian territory between Mt. Gerania and the Isthmus.

The map shows how the configuration of Attica protected the people from invasion by land, at the same time stimulating them to take to the sea and to interest themselves in adventures towards the East. We can appreciate the topographical causes of the strength and weakness of Athens, and we can grasp the successive phases of the extension of Athenian territory. The map extends far enough to give the setting for the tale of Oedipus, and for much of Herodotus's account of the great Persian invasions.

"Of all the states in ancient Greece, Attica seems to have had the most interesting and complete system of land defences. A chain of important fortresses . . . follows the line of the Kithairon-Parnes range : Eleutherai, Oinoë, Panakton, Phyle, Dekeleia, Aphidna and Rhamnous. Incidentally and in large measure they served " the end of marking off Athenian territory, but " in origin they were intended rather to defend the various roads from Attica into Boeotia." There should be mentioned also the " interesting wall which runs along the watershed between the Eleusinian and Attic plains, about 2 miles W. of *Epáno Liosia*. It runs across the pass almost unbroken for over 3 miles, and was obviously intended as a defence against Eleusis. A series of towers on Mt. Aigaleos to the S. continued the line." There was a definite system of defence : on each important road a strong town or fortress ; then smaller forts, built in advance of the others ; finally, the very numerous small watch-towers. (L. Chandler, in *J. H. S.* xlii. (1926), 1-21.)



III
ARGOLIS

III ARGOLIS

FOR Pausanias, the Argolid includes the district of Corinth. His route enters Corinthian territory at the place called Cromyon, whence he soon reaches the Isthmus, which "reaches on the one side to the sea at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaëum" (ii. 1. 5). He observes, without approval, the vestiges of the audacious attempt (of Nero) to cut a canal; and is more interested in the local legends, cults, and festivals. He deals briefly with the two ports of Corinth (2. 3), then proceeds to that great city itself, which as he saw it was the colony planted by the Romans (No. XXVI). From the lower town he mounts to the summit of the Acro-Corinth (5. 1 f.), whence it is convenient to follow the hill road on to Tenea (5. 3). Then (5. 4) he takes a fresh start to the W. from the lower town of Corinth, and visits Sicyon (5. 4-11. 2) with its many things of interest. From here he sets forth along the direct road for Phlius, but turns aside to the grove called Pyraea and (with a detour to the shrine of the Eumenides) to Titane, whence (12. 2) he returns by another route to Sicyon, so as to follow the coast W. past the river Helisson as far as Aristonautae, the port of Pellene, and the stream Sythas.

Again he makes Sicyon his starting-point (12. 3): he goes direct to Phlius (12. 3-13. 8) and Celeae (14). Once more, and for the last time, he takes Corinth as his base (15. 1), following, with some digressions, the highway to Argos: he touches Cleone, knows of a short-cut, a mere footpath, but prefers the road over the pass of the Tretus. He tells of Nemea and the lion's cave among the mountains. Then resuming the road to Argos he visits, on its left, the ruins of Mycenae (15. 4-16. 7; Nos. XXVII, XXVIII. 1), then the Heraeum (No. XXIX), then goes direct from Mycenae to Argos, where there is much for him to observe and where he finally ascends the acropolis called Larisa (24. 1-4). He notes the importance of Argos as a road centre: one highway into Arcadia (24. 5-7) leads to Tegea, another (25. 1-3) by Oenoë and Mt. Artemisius to Mantinea, still another (25. 4-5) to Lyrcea and Orneae.

Then (25. 6) he proceeds from Argos to the territory of Epidaurus, seeing by the way various places and in particular the ruins of Tiryns (25. 8; Nos. XXVIII. 2, XXX). Before reaching the city of Epidaurus itself, he lingers (26-28. 1; Nos. XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII. 1), with great interest in the local legends, practices, and edifices, at the sanctuary of Aesculapius. He visits (27. 7) the shrine of Maleatian Apollo on Mt. Cynortium, and then (28. 2) that of Artemis on Mt. Coryphum, then proceeds to Epidaurus itself (29. 1), the harbour city. He crosses over to the island of Aegina (29. 2-30. 5), then returns to the mainland, traversing the territory of Troezen, its peninsulas and islands (especially Calauria, No. XXXIV), and ending with Asine, on its S.-W. border (36. 5).

When he leaves Argos for the last time (36. 6) it is in a S. direction, to visit first the shores of the Argive Gulf and then the hills to their W.; from Lerna he turns aside to follow the coast E. to Temenium and Nauplia, but finally takes a route, the exact course of which has not yet been identified, first southward along the coast and then westward through the Thyrean plain to the Lacedaemonian border on Mt. Parnon.

The mountains of this E. part of the Peloponnesus are of a moderate elevation and assume a general W.-E. direction, leaving between them various fertile upland valleys. The alluvial plain of Argos and the coastal terraces of Corinth contributed to the economic prosperity of these two cities; Corinth, as controlling the routes which converge at the Isthmus from all directions, by sea and by land, would appear the natural commercial centre of Greece; but the Isthmian Poseidon was the "Earth-Shaker," and down to our own day seismic violence has repeatedly rendered futile the efforts of man to establish here a great emporium.

On conditions in the Corinthia in the Bronze Age, see C. W. Blegen, in *A. J. A.* xxiv. (1920), 1-13, 274.



IV
LACONIA

IV LACONIA

"LACONIA begins immediately to the west of the images of Hermes," (iii. i. 1, *cf.* 10. 7 and ii. 38. 7), at a point on Mt. Parnon where the Lacedaemonian, Argolic, and Arcadian boundaries meet; Pausanias finds that "a third cross-road leads on the right to Caryae" (10. 7), but he returns to the highway and continues on to the ruins of Sellasia, to Thorax, and to the capital. Sparta is properly assigned a long section (11-18. 5; No. XXXV). It then serves as centre for a series of radial excursions: first S. to Amyclae (18. 6-19. 6), where the throne of Apollo, the work of Bathycles the Magnesians, especially interests our guide (most of its architectural fragments are now in the Sparta Museum, see E. Fiechter, in *Jahrbuch des Inst.*, xxxiii. (1918), 107-245). Another road to the S.-E. from Sparta leads him to Therapne (19. 7-20. 1), whence he works around in a S.-W. direction past Amyclae to various points, still unidentified, on the slopes of Taÿgetus. Again, he takes (20. 8) a road from Sparta up the Eurotas valley past Pellana and as far as Belemina; after which he leaves Sparta for the last time and goes (21. 4) in the opposite direction, down-stream, to the port of Gythium.

Here begins (32. 1) another phase of Laconia, for we are conducted along the coast and the neighbouring mountains—first to the E. of Gythium, along the low shore as far as Acrae and its hinterland, then about the forbidding cliffs of the great Eastern barrier where the line of the Parnon range is carried far southward in a promontory which itself finally swerves to S.-E. to end in Cape Malea, while the straight line is taken up by Onugnathus—in his day a promontory, now an island—and the island Cythera; after leaving Acrae, the more important points touched in succession are Asopus, Onugnathus, the Bay of Boae with the city of the same name, Cape Platanistus, with the crossing to Cythera; then, after rounding Cape Malea and visiting the sanctuary of Apollo called Epidelium, he comes to Epidaurus Limera (23. 6 f.), noting "Cape" Minoa (now an island), with its name to us suggestive of early relations with Crete; then on to Zarax (24. 1) and its back-country and still further to Brasiae, "the furthest seaside town of the Free Laconians in this direction."

Finally, there is followed the rocky coast to the W. (24. 6): Las, Arainum, and other points; the forbidding Cape Taenarum (25. 4-8) with its cave-temple and in front of it an image of Poseidon, and with its reputed passage to the Underworld which Pausanias does not accept; then on up the W. coast of Taenarum, past Caenepolis, the Thyrides promontory, Messa, Oetylum with Thalamae apparently inland, Pephnus and its islet, Leuctra, Cardamyle, and finally Gerenia with Mt. Calathium and Alagonia in the interior.

Few regions of Greece are so sharply characterised as this: the lofty wall of Taÿgetus and Taenarum extending straight N. and S. on the W. side, the less austere line of Parnon and its continuations on the E., and between them the gradual transition southwards from the Arcadian uplands to the waters of the gulf. Sparta was mistress of a clearly defined territory, isolated by land, and to the mariner of antiquity, who could appreciate the perils of the wind-dividing capes that guarded the two entrances to the gulf, hardly less isolated by sea.

The topography of Laconia has for a series of years formed the special field of research of the British School at Athens; see its *Annual*, *passim*, beginning with xi. (1904-5).



V
MESSENIA

MESSENIA

OUR author found fewer historical monuments in this territory than in most parts of Greece ; perhaps it was for this reason that he included in his fourth book the stirring collection (1-29) of local traditions, which he closes with the words, " Hitherto I have recounted the many sufferings of the Messenians, and how, after scattering them to the ends of the earth and to lands the farthest from Peloponnese, God afterwards brought them safe back to their own land. I must now address myself to a description of the country and its towns."

He comes by the S.-E. corner of this land—Gerania and the Choerius glen (iv. 1. 1), Abia (30. 1), and Pharae on the coast, then (31. 1) Thuria and its region, next Messene (Nos. XXXVI, XXXVII. 1), Ithome and (33. 4) the road leading N.-E. across the plain to Oechalia and Andania, whence he turns W. towards Cyparissiae. Then he starts again from Messene, following the river Pamisus S.-E. to its mouth, whence he follows the coast S.-W. to (34. 2) Corone, Colonides, and Asine, then the headland of Acritas, and the W. point of Mothone, thence working up the W. coast past Sphacteria and Pylus (No. XXXVIII) to Cyparissiae and on to the defile of the river Neda, the boundary between Messenia and Elis.

As to the natural charms of this region, Pausanias is more than usually restrained. Of the rich Messenian plain, known in antiquity as the Happy Land, where nowadays the traveller passes, almost as in a tropical region, between orange-groves and vineyards fenced by hedges of huge fantastic cactuses and sword-like aloes, he has nothing more to say than that " the Pamisus flows through tilled land."

The Messenian mountains are not lofty but present distinct features of their own : the long narrow Mt. Aegaleum parallel to the W. coast, the group to its E. terminating in Ithome and Eva, the characteristic outlines of which as seen from Bassae in the Arcadian uplands dominate the plain, and the isolated Mt. Mathia to the South. They lie quite apart from the higher ranges that enclose the plain in a great bend on the North and East. The climate is sub-tropical, and Messenia has always been a land by itself ; at the dawn of history the people proved unequal to asserting with success their independence against Lacedaemon ; in the fifth century B.C. the patriots who still had dared resort to the arbitrament of arms were exiled and found refuge at Naupactus ; in the fourth century it required the might of Thebes to re-establish the Messenians as a free community in their own land, and the new city, protected by the natural bulwark of Ithome, was in reality, like Megalopolis and Mantinea, an armed camp set up to hold Sparta in check.



VI
ELIS

VI ELIS

PAUSANIAS comes from Messenia, crossing the Neda (v. 5. 3), to Samicum on the coast, and the district of Triphylia with Lepreus in the interior; he returns to Samicum, observes the mouth of the river Anigrus, and crossing that stream takes the straight road for Olympia (6. 1), seeing first on his right the ruins of Samia, and then on his left those of Scillus (6. 4); before reaching the Alpheus, he sees Mt. Typaeum and learns its associations (6. 7); then he crosses the storied Alpheus (7. 1), the seven tributaries of which he enumerates, and reaches Olympia, to which venerable meeting-place of all Greeks is dedicated the greater part of his fifth and sixth books (Nos. XXXIX, XL, XLI, XLII. 1); which being accomplished, he discusses (vi. 21. 3-22. 4) the border-land between Arcadia and Elis, with Phrixa, Pisa, and their region. Next he goes N.-W. from Olympia to the city of Elis, first taking the hill-road by the Elean Pylus (22. 5), and then (22. 8) the road through the plain by Letrini; the capital itself engages his attention at some length (23-26. 3; No. XLII. 2). Then N.-W. to the coast, to Cyllene, the seaport of the city of Elis (26. 4-5), when he introduces a paragraph (26. 6-9) on the flax which was a special product of the land of Elis; finally (26. 10) he reaches the Larissus river, the boundary between Elis and Achaia; "in olden days Cape Araxus formed the boundary on the coast."

"The N.-W. Peloponnese is a long triangular strip of hill country and coastal plain extending from Cape Drepanon to Kuparisseia and cut off from the rest of the Peloponnese by the massive limestone mountains that form the W. rib of the mountain system of Arcadia. To the N. is the mighty mass of Erymanthos, the modern Olonos, which with its N. extension the Panachaïkon reaches the shores of the Corinthian gulf, where only a narrow strait divides it from the mountains of Aitolia. To the S. again the spurs of the sacred Mt. Lykaion reach the sea between the Neda and the Aulon, from which point the limestone range continues to the S. promontory of Messenia. Between Erymanthos and Lykaion the mountain system recedes and gives way to a tableland of soft tertiary rocks through which the waters of the Alpheios and its tributaries make their way to the sea along a deep and ever-widening valley." (E. Norman Gardiner, *Olympia, Its History and Remains*, Oxford, 1925, p. 13; utilised also below.)

"Instead of the barren, rugged mountains of the interior we see an undulating hill country of marl, sandstone, and conglomerate cut into innumerable ravines and valleys by the streams that flow down from the mountains, and descending in wooded terraces to a flat coastal plain. . . . Between the hills and the sea stretches a plain of rich, alluvial soil. . . . The plain is extraordinarily fertile. . . . The Rivers Peneios and Alpheios flowing E. and W. divide the land into a series of zones. In the interior progress from N. to S. is rendered difficult, in winter almost impossible, by the deep valleys and precipitous ravines. The chief lines of communication are along the valleys of these rivers or the coastal plain. This plain faces N. and W., and access to the plain was not by land but by sea." In all periods, invasion and commerce have come from the N. and W.

The fame of the political centre, Elis, is overshadowed by that of the Panhellenic sanctuary, Olympia; the latter place was accessible by sea, by the land coast-roads to N. and S., and by the routes that converged in the Alpheus valley from Arcadia, Laconia, and the Argolid.



VII
ACHAIA

VII ACHAIA

COMING from Elis, Pausanias's description of Achaia begins (vii. 17. 5) at the river Larissus which forms the boundary. Next is the city Dyme (17. 5-14), then Olenus beside the river Pirus; then Patrae, the capital of the region, and near it the river Glaucus (18. 2-21. 7)—"The women of Patrae are twice as many as the men, and more charming women are nowhere to be seen. Most of them earn their livelihood by the fine flax that grows in Elis; for they weave it into nets for the hair and dresses"; such glimpses into the life of our author's contemporaries are all too few, and occur chiefly in his later books. The position of Pharae, inland by the river Pierus, occasions a digression from Patrae whose dependency it was (22. 1-5), as likewise Tritia (22. 6-9). Then, sailing from Patrae to Aegium (22. 10), he passes Cape Rhium, marking the entrance to the gulf, then other points on the coast, finally reaching Aegium (23. 5-24. 4); "the Achaean diet still meets at Aegium, just as the Amphictyons meet at Thermopylae and at Delphi." Next, continuing eastward along the coast, he passes the river Selinus and sees the place where the city Helice had once stood until it was overwhelmed by an earthquake in the year 373 B.C. (24. 5-25. 4); this occasions a description of earthquakes, their precursors and concomitants, so precise and scientifically so correct as to recall with startling vividness the seismic visitations of our own day.

From this point he turns inland and comes to Cerynea (25. 5-7); again he leaves the highroad to reach Bura (8, 9); after which, he proceeds further E. in the direction of the sea to the river Buraicus and its grotto with an image of Hercules (10); the mouth of the river Crathis (11-13); Aegira (26. 1-9), whence a straight and steep road led through the mountains to Phelloë (10, 11). Then from Aegira to Pellene (26. 12-27. 8), the Mysaeum, and nearby a sanctuary of Aesculapius, with springs of mountain water in abundance—"rivers descend from the mountains above Pellene"; finally (27. 12), "on the borders of Pellene and Sicyon is a river Sythas; it is the last river in Achaia, and falls into the Sicyonian Sea."

The lofty, confused mountain masses of the N. Peloponnesus and their foothills are deeply corrugated by a series of torrents emptying into the bay and gulf to the North, and each of these with its alluvial matter builds up a small delta at its mouth. Apart from such fan-shaped miniature plains, the strip of fertile coast-land is narrow indeed; it is only in the vicinity of Patrae that the fruits of the earth offer a generous return to the labours of the husbandman. The interior contains some of the wildest and most stupendous scenery to be found in Greece, but is ill-adapted to large economic or political developments. Yet the Achaian stock had proud memories dating from before the coming of the Dorians, and at the dawn of Greek history they had expelled the Ionians from the Peloponnesus, thus starting them on their brilliant career of colonisation; and again, in a later age, for a short time in the second century B.C., an Achaian League arose and played a leading rôle in national, and even international, affairs. If Pausanias found inadequate topographical material in this region to fill a book, he had no difficulty in drawing on Achaian tradition and history, and inserting a digression on the Ionia which he himself knew and loved so well (vii. 1. 9-5. 13)—"a land of many wonders that fall little short of the marvels of Greece itself," thus constructing a lengthy and varied introduction which he might hope would prove acceptable to the reader.



VIII
ARCADIA

VIII ARCADIA

THE plain of Tegea with the valley of Mantinea is given on the detailed map, No. XLIX.

The peculiarities of this region require our attention before we follow the route of Pausanias.

Arcadia, the central, least progressive part of the Peloponnesus, is most irregularly broken up by mountains, except for the S.-E. plain above-mentioned and the S.-W. plain of Megalopolis: the contrast between these two is marked. In natural beauty the plain of Megalopolis is far superior to its eastern neighbour. The latter is a bare, monotonous flat, unrelieved by trees or rivers, and enclosed by barren mountains; only towards its N. end do the mountains rise in grander masses and with more picturesque outlines. The plain of Megalopolis, on the other hand, is surrounded by mountains of fine and varied outlines, some of the slopes of which are clothed with wood; and the surface of the plain itself is diversified with copses and undulating downs and hillocks, refreshed by numerous streams shaded with plane-trees, and watered by the broad, though shallow, stream of the Alpheus winding through its midst. The scenery, in contrast to that of the E. plain, is eminently bright, smiling, and cheerful.

Arcadia is the only historically important part of Greece which is remote from the sea: it is not, however, excessively remote, for the view from the hillside above Bassae, in the S.-W. corner of this area, includes to S.-W. a considerable stretch of the Ionian sea. The Greeks considered the Arcadians an indigenous stock; and the Arcadian is one of the oldest of the Greek dialects.

To devise a topographical description of the scattered towns and hamlets of this region must have sorely taxed the ingenuity of Pausanias; but he is not unsuccessful in pursuing the thread of his narrative, which in Arcadia is almost constantly diversified with the mention of mountains, springs, and rivers, or rather torrents.

From Mantinea (see No. XLIX) he goes W. to Methydrium (viii. 12. 2-4) and also N.-W. to Orchomenus (12. 5-13. 4), then by one route to Caphya (13. 4), again by two routes to Stymphalus (13. 5; Lattermann and v. Gärtringen, in *Ath. Mitth.* xl. (1915), 71-90) and Pheneus (13. 6-15. 4) respectively. From Pheneus he knows of several routes to the boundary of its territory with Achaia; and he discusses several of the mountains to E. and N.-E. in this region—Geronteum, Tricrena (16. 1), Sepia (16. 2), Cyllene (17. 1-4) and Chelydorea (17. 5), the last two with their associations with Hermes. Again, he goes W. from Pheneus to Clitor (17. 6), and, alternatively, N. to Nonacria, the water of the Styx, and the Aroanian mountains (17. 6, 18. 1-7), and Lusi (18. 7 f.). Next he takes up the Cynaethaens, whose city was N.-W. of Lusi (19. 1-3), and the more southerly road from Pheneus by way of Lycuria to Clitor (19. 4). From Lycuria he takes us to the springs of the Ladon (20), and thence to Clitor (21). Then he returns to Stymphalus and its territory (22), proceeding S. to Alea (23. 1; No. XXXVII. 3).

This circuit brings Pausanias back to Orchomenus and its region (23. 2-5), whence he proceeds by Caphya to Condylea (23. 6 f.), Nasi (8), the passage of the river Ladon, Argeathae, Lycuntes, and Scotane, the oak forest of Soron, Paus, and Sirae, eventually reaching Psophis (24) on the Aroanius, just above its confluence with the Erymanthus. From this point we can only enumerate the chief places which he touches: Tropea on the left of the Ladon; the oak forest of Aphrodisium; Thelpusa; the lower course of the Ladon, as far as its confluence with the Alpheus; Heraea and the Alpheus (26. 1 f.); the crossing of that stream; Aliphera (26. 5-7); then the road from Heraea past Melaenae and Buphagium to Megalopolis (27). Next, a route from the sources of the Buphagus past Gortys, with a digression to Thisoa and Teuthis, to Megalopolis (28). Here he crosses the Alpheus to visit several places (29), then he returns to Megalopolis, notices the river Helisson which flows through the city, then takes up Megalopolis in detail (30. 2-33; Nos. XLIV, XLV. 1, XLVI). The mountains of S.-W. Arcadia with their various towns and sanctuaries next claim his attention (34-42); after which he goes eastwards by Pallantium (43) to the plain of Tegea (No. XLIX).



IX
BOEOTIA

IX BOEOTIA

PAUSANIAS begins his survey of Boeotia with the roads from Eleutherae and Megara to Plataea, which place contained much of interest both to the historian and to the searcher for curious antiquarian lore. Thence he journeys on to Thebes, which he makes the centre for the whole region (see on No. LI). On finally leaving Thebes (ix. 25. 4) he proceeds to the sanctuary of the Cabiri, thence to the mountain of the Sphinx, and Onchestus; again (26. 6) from the Cabirium to Thespieae and Helicon; then he visits Creusis (32. 1), the port of Thespieae, sailing thence coastwise to a point on the shore whence he reaches Thisbe; by further coasting (retracing his course) he comes to Tipha (32. 4); then going inland from Thespieae he reaches Haliartus, Alalcomenae (33. 5), Coronea with Mt. Laphystius, and over against that eminence he sees Orchomenus (34. 6), which like Thebes engages his attention at length. Then Lebadea with its oracle (39. 40. 1-4), and finally, on the Phocian border, Chaeronea.

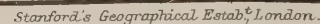
The map shows the W.-E. alignment of the various mountain-ranges, which are mostly of moderate elevation; the alluvial, sometimes water-logged plains; and the enclosing arms of the sea, which, however, did not effectually lay this region open to visitors from overseas, as a large part of the coast was unfavourable to navigation or difficult of access from the interior. The Sphinx Mountain and the low ridge to its W. demark the specifically Theban sphere of influence from that which naturally belonged to Orchomenus. The valleys of Cephissus and Asopus are the natural battlegrounds of Greece: it was here that an invader from the N. might be held in check.

The Athenians affected to disparage Boeotia and its inhabitants: the air of its plains, they said, and with justice, was heavy in comparison with their own; yet few sections of the map of Greece can boast place-names with so poetic a ring—Helicon, Hippocrene, the Grove and the Valley of the Muses; the land produced Hesiod and Pindar, and furnished the legends and the setting for some of the noblest of Attic tragedy. Boeotian ceramic art in the archaic period, while exposed to foreign, especially Corinthian, influence, still has a distinct flavour of its own. Myron's birthplace, Eleutherae, was a border town, originally Boeotian but subsequently Attic. The name of Tanagra suffices to attest a refined taste on the part of the people in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., but the artistic conventions of the exquisite figurines are Attic.

To the lover of liberty, some of these place-names have poignant associations: the men of Plataea stood by the Athenians at Marathon, and eleven years later saw in their own land the final discomfiture of the invader. If Thebes played an ignoble rôle at the time of the great invasion, she retrieved herself at Leuctra, where she broke the despotism of Sparta, and at Chaeronea, where side by side with Athens she offered her best manhood a vain sacrifice for the freedom of Greece.

"There is nothing within the country itself to tempt either the inhabitants to the sea, or through-traders to the land. Nearly all the way along its coast mountains or hills slope down to the water's edge and shut out the view of the interior, while the plains are so surrounded by mountains that from nowhere in Boeotia, except mountain-tops and places actually on the coast, is the sea visible." (Gomme, cited below.) Both of the leading cities, "Thebes with the springs of the Dirke and the Ismenos, Orchomenos with those of the river Melas, had abundant supplies of water. The former is in the very centre of the Eastern District, the latter commanded the Kopais. Their early importance . . . was due to their position as the chief towns in two large agricultural districts; the later importance of Thebes was due to the same cause; while the later comparative insignificance of Orchomenus was due . . . to the flooding of the Kopaic plain. . . . We need not look for trade-routes."

A. W. Gomme, in *A. B. S. A.* xviii. (1911-12), 189-210; W. A. Heurtley, *ibid.* xxvi. (1923-5), 38-45 (showing however intensive relations between the two sides of the gulf in the Late Helladic III period).



X
PHOCIS

PHOCIS

PAUSANIAS enters this district from Boeotia when he proceeds (x. 4. 1) from Chaeronea to Panopeus—"a city of Phocis, if city it can be called that has no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water conducted to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine. Yet its territory is marked off by boundaries from that of its neighbours, and it even sends members to the Phocian parliament"—a valuable enumeration of what he considered the essential attributes of a city.

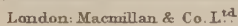
Next he visits Daulis (4. 7), whence he knows of a way up to the top of Parnassus (5. 1). He returns, however, from Daulis to take the straight route, by the Cleft Way with its tragic associations, to Delphi, which great sanctuary furnishes abundant material for most of his tenth book (Nos. LIV-LVI). On leaving Delphi (32. 2), he climbs to the Corycian Cave and sees the peaks of Parnassus. Then (32. 8) he mentions Tithorea and its region, with Ledon, and the two routes thither from Delphi. Again (33. 3) he guides us over Parnassus to Lilaea (No. LVII. 1), Charadra (LVII. 2), and the valley of the Cephissus, with Amphiclea, Tithronium, and Drymaea; then Elatea (34), Abae (No. LVIII) and Hyampolis (35. 1-7).

To cover S. Phocis, he makes another circuit, going (35. 8) from Chaeronea to Stiris, Ambrosus, and Anticyra, whence he observes the ruins of Medeon and the town of Bulis across the bay. From Delphi he visits its port, Cirrha (37. 4-8). At the end of this, the last of his books so far as we know, is a chapter (38) on the Ozolian Locrians with their cities Amphissa, Myonia, Oeanthea, and Naupactus, where the sight of a ruined sanctuary of Aesculapius leads him to tell of the miraculous restoration to sight which had inspired the gratitude of its pious founder.

The determining geological factors of this region are the massive mountain fastness of Parnassus, with its still loftier companion to N.-W. and its less austere continuation to S.-E.; and the lower parallel ranges in Doris and Epicnemidian (Opuntian) Locris to the N. The portion of peninsula thus formed is washed on the one side by the Euboean Sea, beyond which lies a third parallel mountain-range; on the other by the Gulf of Corinth, beyond which are the mountains of the Peloponnesus. Erosion has produced the passes, such as that between Parnassus and Cirphis; and alluvial deposit has created the valleys and plains which once were submerged. The fertile valley of the Cephissus and the high pass from mod. *Gravid* to mod. *Itea* have always been important routes, and the possession of Chaeronea, the true type of battlefield below the opening-out of the pass, has ensured the control of Central Greece to more than one invading host. Delphi is a seismic centre; the religious awe thus inspired was heightened by the majesty of the landscape; its position at the W. end of the pass from N.-W. Boeotia near the S. outlet of the pass from Doris and near a deep bay of the Gulf of Corinth, rendered it peculiarly accessible to all pilgrims from near and far.

Early tin mines have been found in the region of Cirrha (O. Davis, in *J. H. S.*, xlix. (1929), 89-95).

In the inscription from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. ii. No. 136, pp. 140-147, recording a delimitation of boundaries between Delphi on the one hand and Ambryssos (*sic*) and Phlygonion on the other, about the year 140 B.C., there has been preserved a topographical document of prime importance: it furnishes some remarkably precise information as to natural landmarks in the mountainous region of Parnassus and Cirphis.



XI

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT SUNIUM

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT SUNIUM

THE discovery, in the neighbourhood, of an inscription ('Αρχ. Ἐφημερίς, 1900, 133 f.), containing the text of a decree of the Athenian soldiers stationed at Sunium at the beginning of the third century B.C., which includes the provision that it was to be carved on stone and placed in the precinct of Poseidon, has identified this edifice as the temple of that god: such temples to the divinities ruling the sea and the winds are found at many points of importance to mariners along the trade-routes of the Mediterranean (Dr. E. C. Semple, "The Templed Promontories of the Ancient Mediterranean," in *The Geographical Review*, xvii. (1927), 352-86). Another sanctuary, set astride the saddle which connects the point of the promontory with the mainland, has been shown, by excavation, to contain the foundations of common stone that once supported the sun-dried brick walls of a diminutive archaic temple with two columns in front and the base, of Eleusinian stone, for a cult-statue in the cella; while not far distant lie the considerable remains of the larger, marble structure which replaced it in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; probably the Persians in 490 or 480-479 burnt the edifices then existing in both precincts. Vitruvius (iv. 4), when discussing Ionic temples, refers to a temple of "Pallas Minerva" at Sunium, as sharing with "the temple of Athena on the Acropolis," *i.e.* the Erechtheum, the fame of being the first structures to be distinguished by the peculiarity that "everything which is usually at the ends is transferred to the sides"; and the ground-plan of the larger structure at the newly-discovered site corresponds to his description, as there were columns extending along two adjacent sides of the exterior of the cella; hence this is the true temple of Athena Sunias, which stood not "on the summit of the promontory," *i.e.* at the extreme and highest point of the cape, as one must translate the words of Pausanias, but on the crest of the ridge when one came up, as did our author, from the small harbour to its W., the remains of which, though largely silted up, can still be discerned.

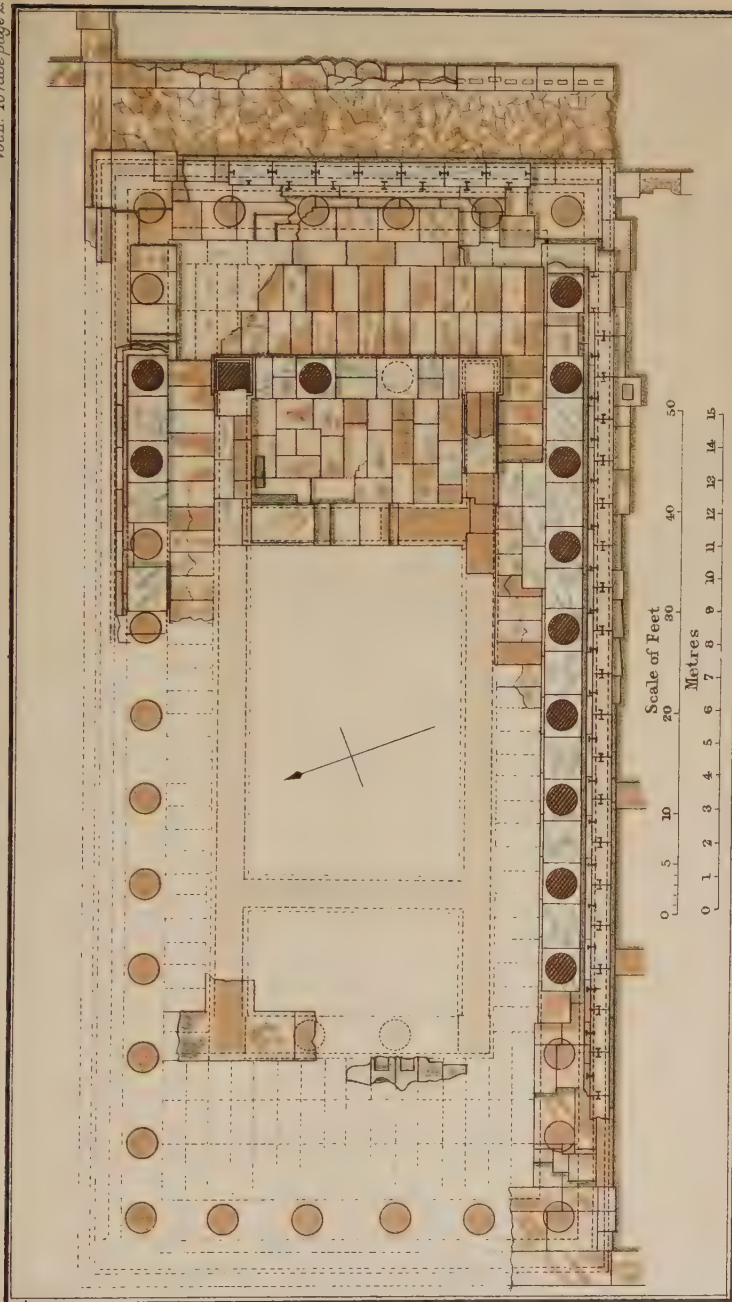
The subject of the present plan, therefore, the famous Doric temple overlooking the sea, which must always have been a conspicuous landmark, is not mentioned by Pausanias; unless we find it impossible to believe that this sentinel of the Greek mainland could have escaped his notice or have appeared unworthy of his mention; in which case we are forced to imagine either that he was misinformed as to its cult, or that in preparing his description from memory he assigned the one cult to the spot sacred to the other.

Recent investigations have thrown light on the *temenos* of this temple, with its votive offerings, including two colossal marble statues of youths (now in Athens); the colonnades which must have afforded welcome shelter to pilgrims by day and night; and the fortification-wall with its towers and gateway on the land side—parts of the archaic polygonal wall were replaced in isodomic masonry of local marble in 413-412 and at later times; the archaic gateway was remodelled in marble when the temple was rebuilt; the great round tower to its E. still shows considerable remains of sun-dried brick. The structure of the temple itself has now been consolidated, and some of its fallen members replaced. In the plate, the local soft limestone, or *poros*, is brown; the characteristic dull white marble, quarried on the neighbouring mountains, is white, but the standing columns and *anta* are black. Some of the metopes of the Doric frieze of the *pronaos* have been placed near the N.-E. corner of the foundations. In the front terrace are incorporated some *poros* drums of the archaic temple; and in fact most of the foundations, of *poros*, belong to the earlier edifice. The marble structure is assigned to *ca.* 423-421 B.C.

Official reports: B. Staes, in 'Αρχ. Ἐφημερίς, 1900, 113-150; A. K. Orlandos, in 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, i. (1915), 1-27; B. Staes and A. K. Orlandos, in 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1917, 168-226.

TEMPLE OF ATHENA AT SUNIUM.

Vol. II. To face page 2.



London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

London: Sandford's Geog. Estab.

XII
THE PIRAEUS

XII

THE PIRAEUS

FOR the location of St. George, the ancient Phalerum, the earlier harbour of Athens, see the map of Modern Athens and its Neighbourhood (No. XX).

The greater part of this area is to-day occupied by a crowded commercial city; far less of antiquity is to be seen in place than is indicated on the plan, based on former observations.

Piraeus is a rocky peninsula which runs into the sea from N.-E. to S.-W. for some $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. It is composed of two limestone masses, each *ca.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide, united by a somewhat low and narrow ridge or isthmus. That to the S.-W., anciently known as the Acte, rises gradually on all sides to a height of 187 ft.; the N.-E. mass attains a height of 280 ft. in the steep Munychia. Geologically, and in the belief of the ancients, it was once an island; it is joined to the mainland by a stretch of low, swampy ground, alluvium from the Cephissus.

It includes three harbours, namely, the great harbour of Piraeus, technically known as the *Cantharus*, on the N.-W. (it had a N. appendage, the *Kophós Limén*, or Deaf Harbour), and the two nearly circular harbours of Zea and Munychia, on the S.-E. side of the peninsula. It was Themistocles, in his archonship, 493-492 B.C., who induced the Athenians to fortify it; hence the appropriateness in bringing his remains for burial by the entrance to the great harbour. The fortifications were destroyed by the Lacedaemonians at the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C., but were restored *ca.* ten years later. Sulla razed them, and burnt the arsenal and the docks; the walls were never rebuilt; the docks, however, were renewed, and otherwise the place enjoyed a considerable revival under the empire.

The line of the fortifications may still be traced around the greater part of the seaward side of the peninsula; in the landward portion, the building activity of the past twenty years has largely obliterated the line which formerly was not difficult to follow. The sea-wall runs along the shore at a distance of 65 to 130 ft. from the water, out of reach of the waves and yet near enough the sea to prevent an enemy from bringing siege engines into play. It is from 10 to nearly 12 ft. thick, and is very carefully built of blocks of the native limestone without mortar; the quarries may be seen at many points both behind and in front of the wall. Towers, *ca.* 20 ft. long, project some 13 to 20 ft. from the curtain at intervals of *ca.* 55-66 yards. The mouths of the three harbours were contracted by moles which ran out to meet each other on either side. The harbour Munychia, the smallest of the three, which until recently had suffered little from the encroachments of modern life, has best preserved the relics of antiquity. Originally it was a mere open bay, and therefore it needed vast constructions of masonry to convert it into a war harbour. The moles are considered among the most magnificent specimens of ancient Greek fortification which have survived; each mole terminated in a tower. In time of danger each of the harbour-mouths could be closed with a chain.

The map gives the course of the fortifications; their relation to the long walls which united Piraeus to Athens; and the arrangement of the ship-sheds—one of the glories of Athens—which have been traced about the edges of the two smaller harbours; also the location of various buildings known from remains or from the authors; the town-plan, by Hippodamus of Miletus, was a famous creation of the Periclean age.

No certain vestiges have been found of the great arsenal, a necessary adjunct to the ship-sheds of the navy, which was designed *ca.* 347-346 B.C. by the architect Philo to replace an older structure, but fortunately the directions given its contractors have been preserved, engraved on a slab of marble not far from the N.-E. side of the harbour of Zea, at the foot of the hill of Munychia (*J. G.* ii. 1054; = Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*, ed. 3, 969); we know Philo's arsenal from roof to foundation better perhaps than any other building of ancient Greece, though not a stone of it has been found; it was burnt by Sulla in 86 B.C.

The most recent literature on the harbours is cited by Dr. J. Day, in his article on the *Kophós Limén* in *A. J. A.* xxxi., 1927, 441-9.

XIII

PLAN OF DIPYLUM AND STREET
OF TOMBS

PLAN OF DIPYLMUM AND STREET OF TOMBS

RECENT campaigns have vastly extended the area of these excavations and have also altered their appearance by disclosing the lower strata where previous investigators had stopped at a high level; but the very complexity of the new material precludes adequate presentation in so narrow a compass, and the indications given on our old plan are in themselves as valuable as ever.

Coming by the main highway from Piraeus, Pausanias (i. 2. 2) sees some of the private graves by the way, including one "not far from the gate . . . surmounted by a warrior standing by a horse; who he is I know not, but both horse and warrior are by Praxiteles." It is clear that he enters by the Dipylum Gate; within it he sees the Pompeum and other edifices, then he follows the colonnades extending from the gate to the (inner) Ceramicus. His route within the walls terminates (i. 29. 1) near the Areopagus; he then takes up the way (from the Dipylum) to the Academy, of which centre of learning he drily observes that it was "once the property of a private individual, but in my time a gymnasium." On the way to the Academy he discusses in particular the great state cemetery which extended from the Dipylum in that direction. His description of this, the national burying-ground of Athens—in his day doubtless still showing traces of the havoc wrought by Sulla—is little more than a bare list of the names on the monuments, but there almost every name was a history full of proud or mournful memories: the annals of Athens were written on these stones (A. v. Domaszewski, *Der Staatsfriedhof der Athener*, Heidelberg *Sitzungsber.*, 1917, 7. *Abh.*).

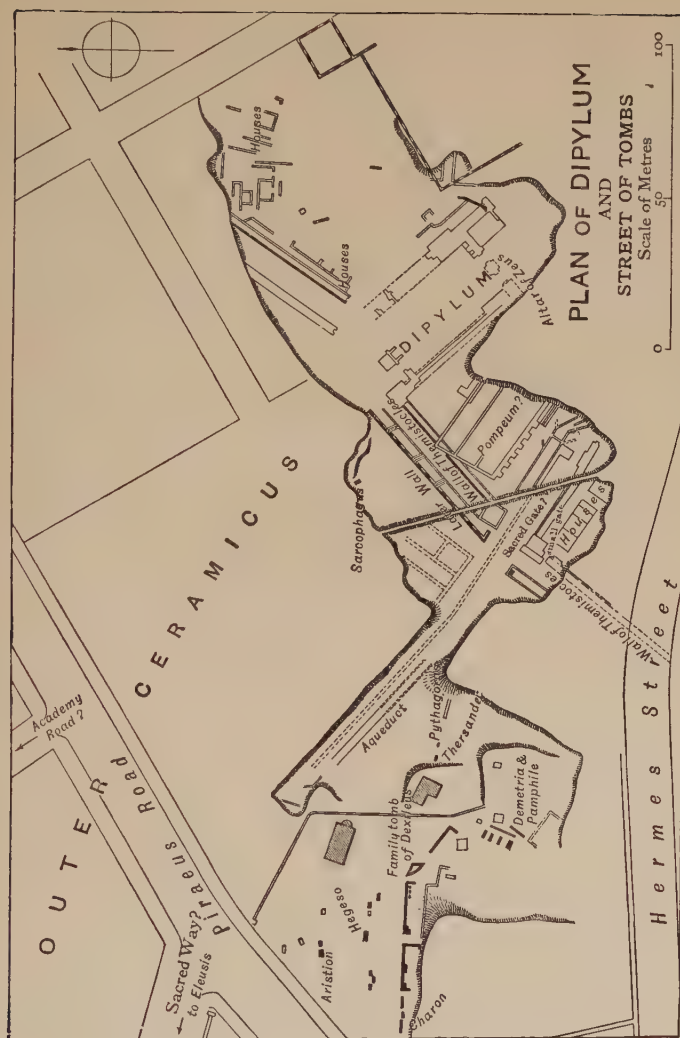
To return to our plan: it shows the double line of walls (the inner line between the two gates is the restoration of Conon, 393 B.C., while the outer line is to be assigned, together with the great Dipylum Gate itself, to the period of the orator Lycurgus, 338 ff. B.C.); the Dipylum Gate, through which passed the regular traffic from Piraeus; the small Sacred Gate, serving for the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which at its start ran parallel to the canalised stream Eridanus, then crossed to its right on a bridge, and was soon crossed in its turn by the Piraeus Road, which after starting from the Dipylum must have made a great curve towards S.-W. The remains of various periods of fortification at the Sacred Gate and to its N.-W. are extremely complicated, but the constructions of both Themistocles and Conon can be identified.

On our plan are represented, first, a small section of a public cemetery for the allies of Athens, where were buried between 480 and 450 B.C. Pythagoras of Selymbria and ca. 375 B.C. Thersander and Simylus of Corcyra, representatives of their several cities who were accorded state burial by the Athenians; and then a systematically planned area of family lots, in which the burials with richly-adorned monuments range from the first decade of the fourth century B.C. (the stone of Dexileos was one of the first) to the sumptuary edict of Demetrius of Phalerum (317-316 B.C.), after which severe simplicity was the rule.

This area of family burials—artistically one of the most characteristic creations of Athens in the fourth century—was laid out on the extreme N. slopes of the Pnyx group of hills; the church of *Hagia Triada* stands on a low mound, to the S. of which passed the chief street of the cemetery, connecting in a gentle curve the first stretch of the Sacred Way with the Piraeus Road. The terraces on the S. of the street were higher than those on the N. side; and in general the *stelai* were intended to be seen at a distinct angle from below. The burials took place in the interior of each lot; while the passer-by beheld above the top of the front retaining-wall a series of monuments, some inscribed, commemorating the various members of the family or, as in the case of Sirens or dogs, having a more general significance. The wayfarer on the Piraeus Road saw a constantly shifting series of terraces, one behind the other. Rarely have the dead been laid to rest with such dignified restraint in the expression of grief, or with such tender suggestion of the continuity, in some shadowy way, of human existence.

The foundations of the Pompeum, W. of the Dipylum, which Pausanias saw, were a Hadrianic rebuilding; beneath them are remains of the structure of the early fourth century B.C., and below that have been found tombs of the Sub-Mycenean period.

A. Brückner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, Berlin 1909; in *Athen. Mitth.* li. (1926), 128-41; and in *Gnomon*, iii. (1927), 736-9. K. Kübler, in *Ath. Mitth.* liii. (1928), 169-83.



Walker & Bontall sc.

XIV
ANCIENT ATHENS

XIV

ANCIENT ATHENS

OUR author's account of Athens itself pursues on the whole a topographical order, at least if we are to accept Dr. W. Dörpfeld's views as to the Enneacrunus passage; for the rest of Attica Pausanias follows several categories, namely demes, mountains, and islands, until with his description of the Sacred Way which led from Athens to Eleusis he once and for all grasps firmly the topographical thread. He enters Athens at the N.-W. corner, by the Piraeus highway and the Dipylon Gate; he comes to the Market-place and its neighbourhood, and eventually passes to E. and S. of the Acropolis, which he ascends from the W. end; he leaves it by the same gateway, proceeds northwards, and finally passes out of the city walls at the same point by which he had entered; then he sees the great burial-ground of the Athenian state, lying to the E. of the private graveyard which had attracted his attention as he was approaching from Piraeus (No. XIII).

The plan shows the city walls of the classical period, with their extension to the E. under Hadrian, to include a villa suburb; also the fortifications of the Acropolis, which were restored in the fifth century B.C. after the departure of the Persians; of the prehistoric walls of the hill considerable stretches are still to be seen. The "wheel-shaped" city of the oracle quoted by Herodotus (vii. 140) was an intermediate phase; Thucydides (ii. 15. 3) says that the city which preceded it lay on the Acropolis and extended in a southerly direction from the citadel.

The striking features of the Athenian landscape are due to geological conditions: a stratum of hard limestone rested upon softer layers of marl, clay, and schist; with the progress of erosion, only isolated bits of the limestone, in heights increasing from S.-W. to N.-E., have been left resting upon the lower strata; thus were formed the hills of Piraeus; the group consisting of the Hill of the Nymphs, the Pnyx, and the Hill of the Muses; the Areopagus; the Acropolis; Lycabettus; and Anchesmus. The genius of Plato had arrived at a conclusion essentially the same as that of modern science, though couched in other language; he says (*Critias*, 112 A): "The condition of the Acropolis was different then from now. For one exceedingly rainy night dissolved it and made it bare, earthquakes too participating in this, and a mighty rain, the third before Deucalion's destruction; but formerly, in other times, it extended as far as the Eridanus and the Ilissus and embraced within them the Pnyx and included Mount Lycabettus which is opposite to the Pnyx, and it was entirely covered with soil and with few exceptions had a level surface."

In antiquity as now, the supply of water at Athens was scanty except in time of freshet, and was precious in the eyes of the people. Two of the streams, Eridanus to N. of the Acropolis and Ilissus to S., appear on the plan; their fellow, Cephissus, flows in the lowest part of the plain to the N. (see No. XX). Several springs made their way out from the lower parts of the limestone cap of the Acropolis and the Pnyx; and in some regions of the city there were many wells.

The clay of the Cephissus valley and the marbles of the mountains served as material for Athenian potters, sculptors, and architects; and the olive groves provided the prizes for the winners at the festival games.

The bracing but often boisterous winds, and the limpid clarity of the atmosphere, have always been famous.

Athens and Attica, though occupied by various communities and princes in the Bronze Age, were not in a position to assume a prominent part in Greek affairs until the union of the various sections of the district in the first half of the seventh century B.C.; and it was not until the enlightened tyranny of Pisistratus at the middle of the sixth century that the name of Athens became synonymous with the choicest Greek culture. Apart from the cultivation of the olive and the exploitation of the silver mines of Laurium, the chief wealth was derived from overseas colonies and commerce. The pre-eminence of Athens in art and letters was largely due to her readiness to accept with hospitality the talents that were attracted thither from other parts: if not politically, at least spiritually, she became the capital of the Greek world.

W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (I. von Müller's *Handbuch*, III. ii. 2), Munich, 1905; C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, N.Y., 1913.

ANCIENT ATHENS

Vol. II. To face page 46.



XV

- (1) PLAN OF OLYMPIEUM
- (2) STRUCTURE AT THE CENTRE OF
THE QUADRANGLE OF HADRIAN'S
GYMNASIUM OR LIBRARY
- (3) BOHN'S DIAGRAM OF THE HEALTH
ATHENA BASIS AND ADJACENT
STONES

XV (1)

PLAN OF OLYMPIEUM

THE Olympieum is the spacious artificial platform situated to S.-E. of the Acropolis. on the right bank of the Ilyssus. Of the temple which occupied its centre, fifteen gigantic Corinthian columns still stand. The ruined temple agrees with Vitruvius's description (iii. 2. 8 ; vii. *praef.* 15, 17), having been Corinthian, dipteral, and octostyle. Among the ruins have been found a number of inscribed bases (*I. G.* iii. 479-87, 491, 4), which supported statues of Hadrian ; Pausanias says the enclosure was full of such statues.

The original sanctuary seems to have been one of the oldest in Athens ; remains attributed to it have been brought to light. An Ionic temple, on a grand scale, was begun by Pisistratus ; many of its details have been found incorporated in the later foundations or terrace (G. Welter in *Ath. Mitth.* xxxvii. (1922), 61-71, pls. vii-x) ; the architects were Antistates, Callaeschros, Antimachides, and Pormos. The death of Pisistratus interrupted the work. *Ca.* 174 B.C., Antiochus IV. Epiphanes undertook to build it afresh on a more magnificent scale than ever, employing a Roman architect Cossutius (he is mentioned in *I. G.* iii. 561, which was found nearby) ; this structure too remained unfinished but evoked great admiration ; Sulla carried off some columns to build the Capitolium in Rome ; the temple was finally completed by Hadrian. The quality of the carving of the existing capitals, being superior to corresponding Hadrianic work in Athens, is considered to indicate that they belong to the part of the temple that was executed under Antiochus Epiphanes.

The great platform is constructed of massive masonry, and is strengthened with buttresses ; the exterior wall has been restored in recent years ; the unfinished portico or gateway on the N. side, in a line with the E. end of the temple, appears Hadrianic.

XV (2)

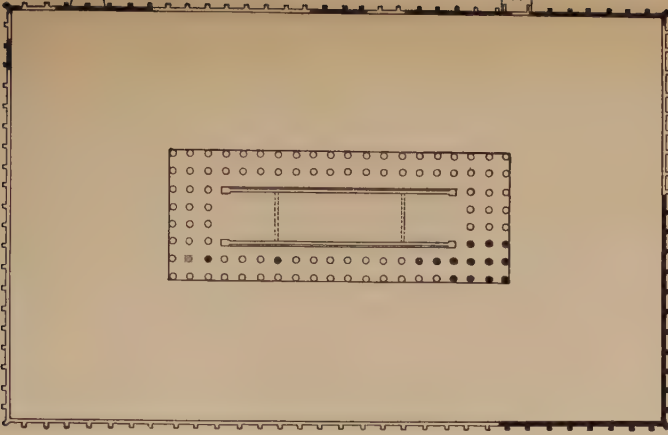
STRUCTURE AT THE CENTRE OF THE QUADRANGLE OF HADRIAN'S GYMNASIUM OR LIBRARY

THE plan appears to have comprised a square open court measuring *ca.* twenty paces on the sides and enclosed on each side by a semicircular colonnade. The cloisters surrounding this court seem to have been paved throughout with ornamental mosaics. The N. and S. colonnades are best preserved ; the one that presumably once stood to E. seems to have been absorbed by the apse of a church. At the N.-E. corner of the court there are standing two short pieces of wall which meet at a right angle ; one faces S., and has an arched doorway, the other faces E. On the S. side of the court, in front of the semicircular colonnade, there is a marble stylobate, and on it stand three columns and an *anta* of white marble, all supporting their architraves ; these columns and *anta* appear to have belonged to the church.

XV (3)

BOHN'S DIAGRAM OF THE HEALTH ATHENA BASIS AND ADJACENT STONES

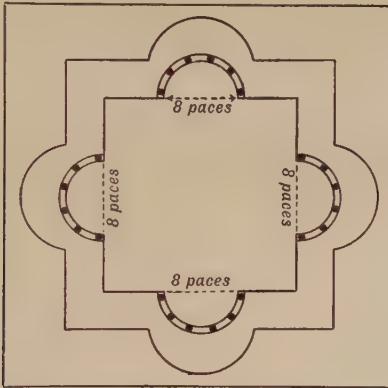
B is the southernmost column of the E. porch of the Propylaea. D is the Health Athena pedestal ; its base, of the same shape as the pedestal, is placed with its flat side in contact with the stylobate of the porch, and its top is exactly on a level with the top of the stylobate ; the edge of the pedestal actually overlaps and rests on the stylobate. The two marks on the top show where the feet of the statue stood. The inscription on the front shows at least one trace (*eta* for long E) of the intrusion of the Ionic alphabet, its wording proves that the dedication was made by the Athenians (not Pericles). The block F rests on an accumulation of soil at a higher level than the base of the Athena pedestal, which is bedded on the rock ; the altar which it supported was probably erected later than the statue. The N. end of the block E fits into the round base of the Athena pedestal, and its N.-E. corner lies under F ; the line of the block E is prolonged to S.-E. by a groove cut in the rock ; probably E is the remnant of a row of blocks intended to divert the flow of rain-water from the corner between the Propylaea and the precinct of the Brauronian Artemis.



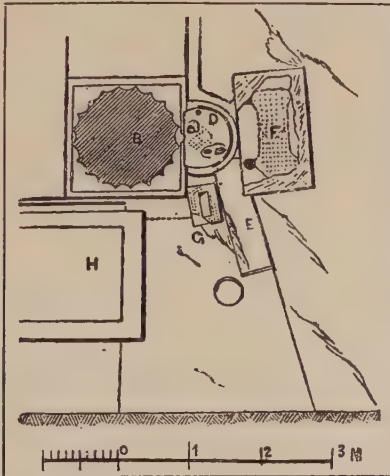
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Metres

PLAN OF OLYMPIEUM

Portions printed black still extant; portions printed in outline conjecturally restored.



STRUCTURE IN QUADRANGLE OF HADRIAN'S GYMNASIUM OR LIBRARY



HEALTH ATHENA BASIS AND ADJACENT STONES

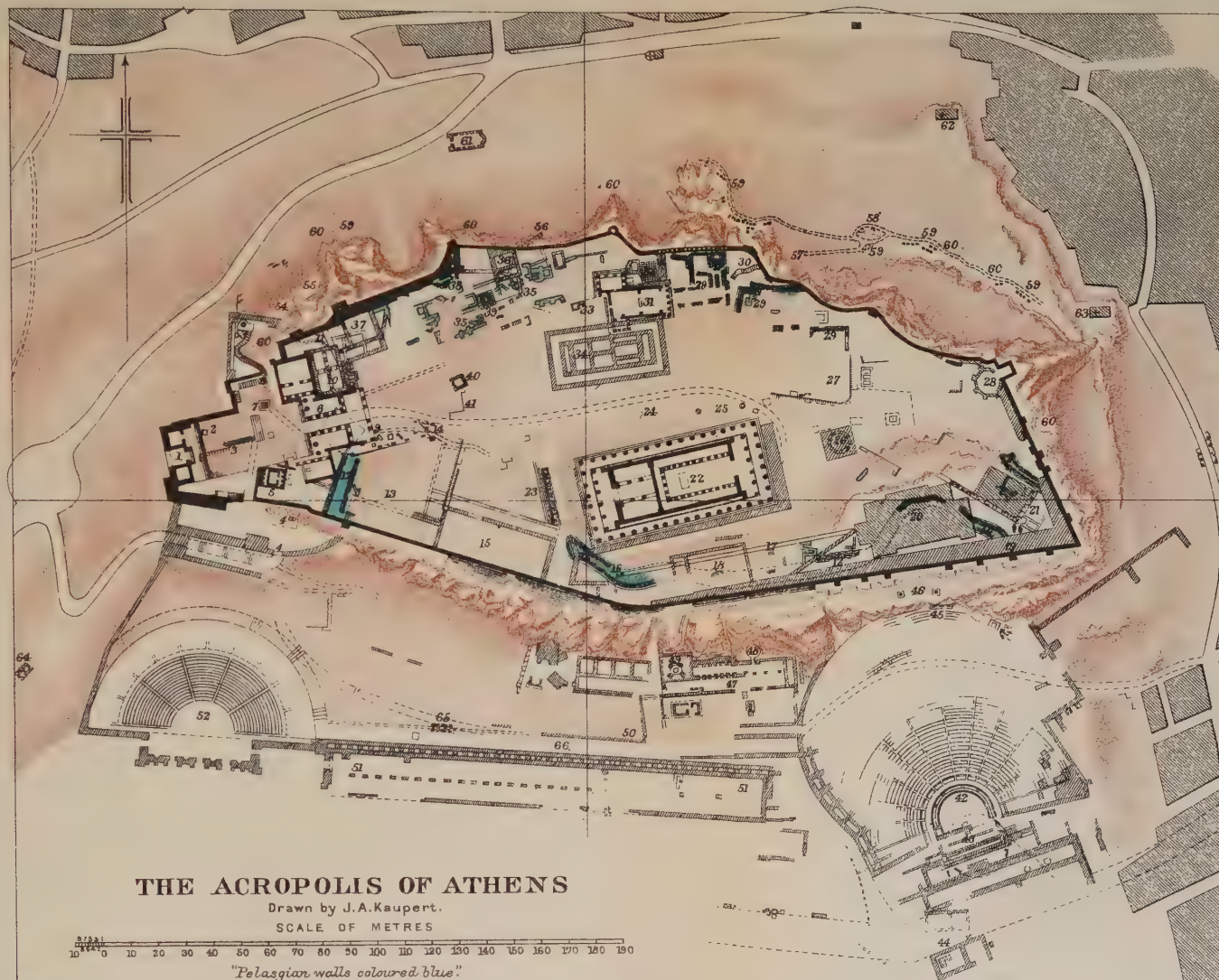
XVI

KEY TO PLAN OF ACROPOLIS

KEY TO PLAN OF ACROPOLIS

1. Gate excavated by Beulé, constructed in late antiquity, incorporating most of the elements of the choragic monument of Nicias, which stood on the foundation partly indicated to S.-E. of the Colonnade of Eumenes (51).
2. *Poros* altar of Pisistratid period.
3. Polygonal wall.
4. Modern entrance (now disused).
- 4a. Low step and niche cut in rock; probably the shrine of Aegeus.
5. Temple of Wingless Victory.
6. Propylaea of Mnesicles; outline of earlier gate-house.
7. Hellenistic base used for monument of Agrippa.
8. Passage to Clepsydra spring.
9. Health Athena.
10. Cistern.
11. Water-channel.
12. Pelasgian fortification-wall.
13. Precinct of Brauronian Artemis.
14. Rock-cut steps.
15. Chalkotheke?
16. Staircase in wall.
17. Supporting wall.
18. Ancient building.
19. Offerings of Attalus.
20. Modern Museum.
21. Foundations under "Small Museum."
22. Parthenon.
23. Terrace steps.
24. Fruit-bearing Earth.
25. Cisterns.
26. Temple of Rome and Augustus.
27. Terrace or altar (highest point).
28. Modern outwork.
29. Foundations of prehistoric palace.
30. Prehistoric staircase and entrance.
31. Erechtheum.
32. Paved terrace.
33. Cuttings in rock.
34. Old temple of Athena (pre-Persian temple, with prehistoric column-bases in E. part).
35. Foundations of prehistoric buildings.
36. Rectangular building.
37. Hellenistic cistern below it.
38. Staircase leading from Acropolis to precinct of Aglaurus.
39. Ancient well-house.
40. Position of great bronze image of Athena (*Promachos*).
41. Base (of bronze chariot-group?).
42. Theatre of Dionysus.
43. Ancient circular orchestra.
44. Two temples of Dionysus.
45. Monument of Thrasyllus.
46. Columns which supported tripods.
47. Sanctuary of Aesculapius.
48. Grotto and spring.
49. Shaft of well or sacred pit (?).
50. Terrace-wall with boundary-inscription.
51. Colonnade of Eumenes.
52. Music Hall of Herodes Atticus.
53. Clepsydra spring.
54. Cave of Apollo.
55. Cave.
56. Subterranean winding passage.
57. Cleft in the rock with staircase.
58. Inscribed rock.
59. Votive niches in the rock.
60. Hollows in the rock.
61. Ruined Chapel of the Seraphim.
62. Chapel of St. Simeon.
63. Chapel of St. George.
- 64, 65. Remains of ancient walls.
66. Ancient road.

Recent Publications on the Acropolis: T. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, text and plates, Leipzig, 1900. O. Jahn and A. Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum*, text and atlas, 3rd ed., Bonn, 1901. Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, Athens, 1907. M. L. D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, N.Y., 1908. G. Dickins and others, *Cat. of the Acr. Museum*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1912, 1921. M. Schede, *Die Burg von Athen*, Berlin, 1922. G. Karo, *Denkmalspflege auf der Akropolis von Athen*, in *Die Antike*, iv. (1928), 66-84. E. Buschor, *Die Tondächer der Akropolis*, Berlin, 1929.



XVII
PLAN OF PROPYLAEA

PLAN OF PROPYLAEA

(THE DOTTED PORTIONS WERE PROJECTED ONLY)

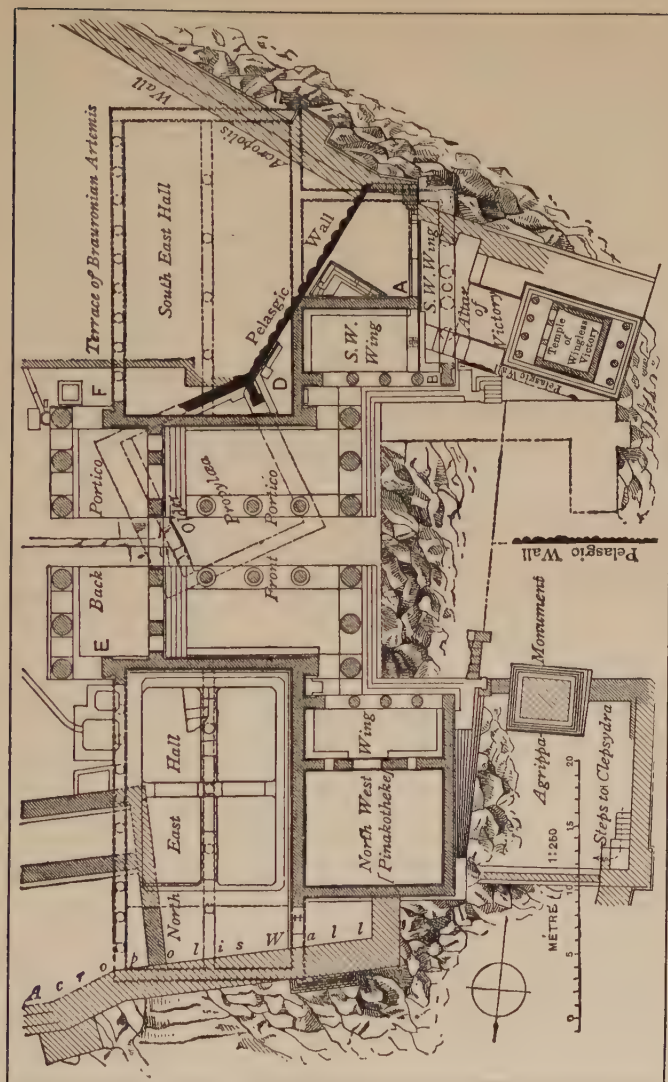
ON its W. side the rock of the Acropolis slopes gently down towards the Areopagus, and here was always, at least in historical times, the public entrance. There was, indeed, a staircase leading down from the N. side to the sanctuary of Aglaurus (38 on plan, No. XVI); and a little to the E. of this there is a natural rift in the rock in which another staircase was built in the middle ages. But neither of these approaches was open to the public. In addition there is a prehistoric staircase leading down to the lower town from a point to the E. of the Erechtheum (30 on No. XVI).

The great portal was built under the administration of Pericles; we are told that it was begun in 437-436 B.C., and completed in five years; it was always reckoned, with the Parthenon, among the glories of Athens; fragments of the accounts of the moneys expended on its construction have been preserved on inscriptions (*I. G.* i. 314, 315); the architect was Mnesicles. The partly restored marble staircase which leads up to it dates from Roman times and concealed the original ascent, apparently a path winding up the terraced, rocky slope. The portal itself, magnificently constructed of Pentelic marble, consists of a central portion facing a little to the S. of W., with two wings flanking the approach. The central portion contains the portal proper, a wall pierced by five graduated openings; these were closed by massive gates; the side-posts and lintels were originally faced with wood, which in its turn may have been sheathed with metal, but in the Roman period this wood was replaced by slabs of marble. Before and behind this wall were porticoes; the outer or W. one has six Doric columns in front and two rows of Ionic columns (three in each row) in the interior. These Ionic columns supported the marble roof which Pausanias admired so much; it has proved possible to restore a certain portion of the marble beams and coffered ceiling. The central passage, instead of having steps, rises gradually, so that chariots could drive up it; the ruts in which the wheels ran can still be seen in the rock. At the inner side (back) of the portico, a flight of five steps leads up to the four side gateways; each step is *ca.* 1 ft. high; the first four are of Pentelic marble, the uppermost is of dark blue Eleusinian stone, a material which is used very skilfully for such elements in the lower parts of this building. The middle gateway is without steps, so that chariots could pass through it. The inner or E. portico is shallower than the W. one.

To N. and S. of this main part were various halls and porticos, including the "chamber containing pictures" mentioned by Pausanias, and there are clear indications that the architect in more than one instance was forced to modify or abandon some features in his project; the restorations in dotted lines on the plan, though perhaps not in all cases justified, still are intended to suggest what he may have had in mind, a truly magnificent group of rooms which would have entailed serious sacrifices on the part of the neighbouring sanctuaries. But the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War must have put a stop to such undertakings.

As the plan indicates, there are considerable remains of the earlier state of the W. entrance to the Acropolis; a well-preserved stretch of the Pelasgic wall, partly masked by the S. wing of the Propylaea; and at its N.-E. termination a portion of the comparatively simple gate which was damaged by the Persians and then restored after their departure to serve during some forty years of Athenian prosperity; the cuttings in the rock that can be seen in the central opening of the Great Propylaea have to do with the line of this earlier entrance.

C. H. Weller, in *A. J. A.* viii. (1904), 35-70. W. B. Dinsmoor, *ibid.* xiv. (1910), 143-184.



PLAN OF PROPYLAEA

XVIII

- (1) PLAN OF THE PARTHENON
- (2) PLAN OF THE ERECHTHEUM AND
THE TEMPLE DESTROYED BY THE
PERSIANS

XVIII (1)

PLAN OF THE PARTHENON

THE Periclean Parthenon, designed by Ictinus and Callicrates, the most famous and beautiful of all existing Greek temples, is entirely built, from its steps up, of white Pentelic marble. Its dimensions are exceptional, 250 × 105 ft., its order Doric, its plan, here given in cross-hatching, is peripteral octastyle, and includes a second porch of six columns at each end, a two-storied colonnade around three sides of the *cella*, with the base for the great gold and ivory statue of the goddess, and at the back, an additional room, with its roof supported by four Ionic columns. The sculptured decoration (now mostly in London) was the richest of any Greek temple; it comprised all the metopes of the Doric frieze, both the pediments, and an Ionic frieze running about the exterior of the *cella*; not to mention the lions' head spouts and other adornment of the eaves and roof. The workmanship is exquisite, the material of a wonderfully rich texture which takes a mellow golden tint with weathering—thus partly compensating for the loss of colouring in details,—the curves and other subtleties in design and execution contribute to an aesthetic effect of great refinement combined with strength. The structure is now undergoing a partial restoration.

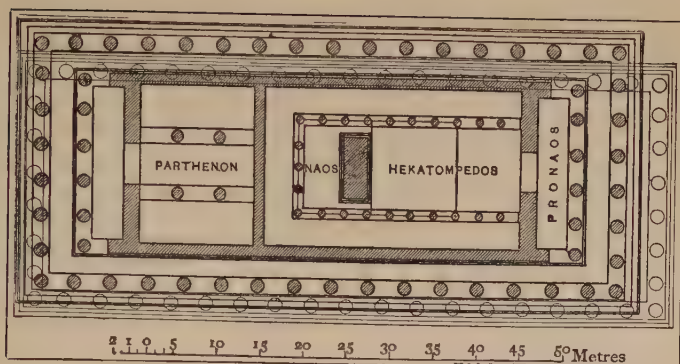
A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, text and plates, Brit. Mus., London, 1910. M. Collignon, *Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1912 (smaller ed., Paris, 1914). Brit. Mus., *A Short Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, 1921.

For the history of the Parthenon before the Periclean age, the fundamental discussion is by Dr. B. H. Hill, in *A. J. A.* xvi. (1912), 535-558. The *poros* substructure of the earlier temple is indicated on the plan, partly by conjecture, in faint outline; it is about 12 ft. longer than would be needed for the later building, and *ca.* 6 ft. narrower; it would have been adapted to a peristyle of 6 × 15 *poros* columns of large dimensions, and its inception is to be assigned to the young Athenian democracy under Clisthenes. Probably in the time of patriotic fervour after Marathon, it was decided to make the superstructure slightly smaller, but of marble; thus when the Persians occupied Athens in 480-479 B.C. it had the two *poros* steps which are still *in situ*, and above them three more—a lower step of *Karà* stone, set in from the edge, a middle step of marble, and a stylobate of marble, which was planned to support 6 × 16 marble columns; one or two drums of these, and the marble wall-base of the *cella*, had been put in place when the Persians burnt the scaffolding and thus partly calced these members. The old foundation, and many blocks of marble already used or prepared for the structure, were adapted for the Periclean Parthenon. That a still earlier temple, of large size, had already occupied the same site has been suggested by Prof. H. Schrader, in *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xlii. (1928), 54-89, on the grounds of certain fragments.

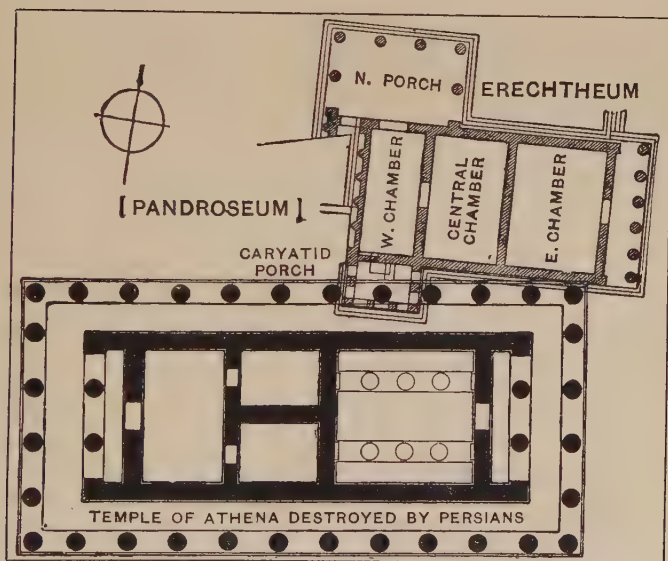
XVIII (2)

PLAN OF THE ERECHTHEUM AND THE TEMPLE DESTROYED BY THE PERSIANS

FOR the former temple, see No. XIX. To its S. are the foundations of a large temple, the restored plan of which is given in black. This building itself falls into two periods as regards both foundation and superstructure; extensive fragments of the latter are in the two Acropolis museums. A structure of the first half of the sixth century B.C. with foundations of Acropolis limestone and superstructure of *poros*, with some marble in the roof portions, and with *poros* pediment groups, was remodelled under the Pisistratids by the addition of an enclosing colonnade of *poros* supported on a stylobate of *Karà* stone; marble was used for the pediment sculptures, some metopes, and the cornice. This temple was burnt by the Persians, and many of the damaged remains of its colonnade and Doric frieze were built into the exterior walls of the Acropolis, as were many drums and squared blocks of the pre-Periclean Parthenon. Lengthy discussion has centred about the question of the re-use of the burnt temple; sufficient elements appear to be lacking for a definite conclusion (see Stevens, *Erechtheum*, 423-452).



PLAN OF THE PARTHENON



PLAN OF THE ERECHTHEUM AND THE TEMPLE DESTROYED BY THE PERSIANS

XIX

GROUND PLAN OF ERECHTHEUM
(EXISTING REMAINS)

GROUND PLAN OF ERECHTHEUM (EXISTING REMAINS)

THE temple which we call the Erechtheum, though the ancients perhaps restricted that name to the W. half, was a double temple containing a shrine of Athena Polias and a shrine of Erechtheus. Homer (*Od.* vii. 78-81) says that Athena "went into the stout house of Erechtheus," as if it were the royal palace; and in another passage (*Il.* ii. 549-551) he mentions that Erechtheus was worshipped in the temple of Athena, as if that were her home. The date of composition of the latter passage is questionable—probably the sixth century B.C.; but in any case it is evidence for the belief in the presence of a temple of Athena with provision for the cult of Erechtheus, constructed at a very early time, a building earlier than the early form of the "Temple Destroyed by the Persians" (No. XVIII. 2), the foundations of which lie to the S. of the present Erechtheum; and in fact there are references in both authors and inscriptions which can be taken to refer to such a predecessor of the present structure. Various remains or traces of walls among the foundations of the building may also be assigned to an early structure, the upper parts of which would probably have been of sun-dried brick and wood. The relation of such a temple to the large sixth-century edifice lying to its S., and the interpretation of the literary and epigraphical evidence, still form the subject of a lengthy controversy.

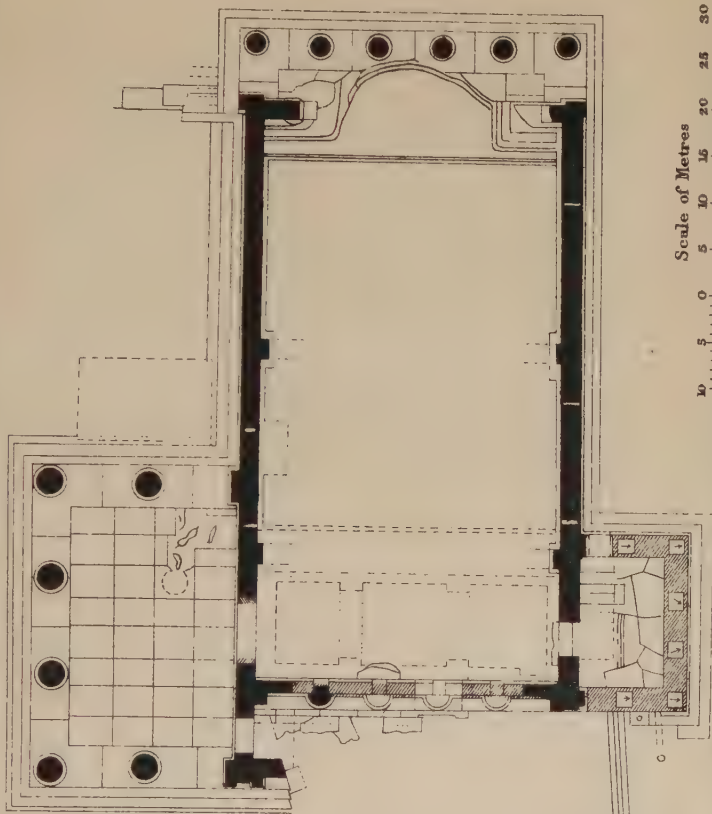
The form of the present Erechtheum is peculiar and indeed unique. The temple is of the Ionic order, and is built of Pentelic marble except for the frieze, which ran round the building above the architrave, and had a ground of dark Eleusinian stone to which the marble figures were attached. The main structure is a quadrangle; at the W. end of the N. side it had a spacious porch, with six Ionic columns in front and one behind each of the corner columns. At the W. end of the S. side of the temple there was the smaller porch with the six sculptured Maidens. The W. front of the temple consists in its lower portion of a solid wall; above that it originally contained four Ionic half-columns on the exterior, with corresponding pilasters on the interior, while between these there was again a solid wall-space to a certain height, and above that, in four of the intercolumniations, spaces closed by joiner's work; the present arrangement is due to a restoration which took place probably toward the end of the first century B.C. The Erechtheum had four doors. The S. and E. sides of the temple stand on a higher level by *ca.* 9 ft. than its N. and W. sides; a flight of twelve marble stairs descended along the outside of the N. wall to the rocky plateau on which the N. porch is built.

While much remains of the exterior, very little is left of the ancient interior. It appears to have been divided into three chambers, E., Central, and W., of which the E. and Central ones were about equal, but the W. was much smaller; the E. one was at a higher level, and was entered through the E. portico; it was divided from the central chamber by a cross wall, while the central chamber was separated from the W. by a screen-wall ten courses high. The large cistern in the W. chamber is post-classical in date; and the many peculiar features of this part of the building can only be mentioned here; they doubtless have to do with cult practices, and were affected by previously existing arrangements.

Pausanias first describes the "Erechtheum," by which he may have designated, not the whole, but a part of the temple; second, he describes the shrine of Athena Polias; and third, he mentions the temple of Pandrosus, which adjoined the Erechtheum, and the abode of the maidens called *Arrephoroi*, which was not far from it. While many details of identification are still elusive, our understanding and reconstruction of the whole building receive assistance from a documentary source: for a mass of detailed information as to the edifice is contained in the building inscriptions; so that we know, *e.g.*, the state of certain parts or elements of the structure in certain years, the names of certain artisans and the amount of pay that they received for certain specified labour, the terms used for various structural and decorative details, and in particular we are given sufficient information to justify a theoretical reconstruction of much of the joiner's work which formed an important feature in the upper parts of the building.

G. P. Stevens and others: *The Erechtheum*, text and plates. Cambridge, Mass., 1927.

GROUND PLAN OF ERECHTHEUM (EXISTING REMAINS). *Will To face page 384.*



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XX

MODERN ATHENS AND ITS
NEIGHBOURHOOD

MODERN ATHENS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

SOME features of this landscape have been discussed at Nos. II, XII, and XIV. Other essential matters were well presented by Weller, *Athens and Its Monuments*, 13-19.

"The city of Athens lies in the midst of an irregular and undulating plain, which extends from the northeast southwestwards to the Saronic Gulf and is, roughly speaking, about 15 miles long by 10 miles wide. On three sides the plain is hemmed in by mountains, whose foothills extend far out into the central area. The range of Parnes is the highest (4631 ft.) and longest, extending westward into Mt. Cithaeron and eastward nearly to Mt. Pentelicus. High up in Parnes is the fort of Phyle, where Thrasybulus assembled the little band that was to terminate the Thirty's tyranny. The naked ridge of Harma was clearly visible to the Pythian priests at Athens, watching for the lightnings over its summit to tell them of the time to send sacrifices to Delphi. Farther east is Declea, whence at the end of the Peloponnesian War the Spartans spied upon the city."

"N.-E. of Athens is the pyramidal peak (3637 ft.) of Mt. Pentelicus, or Brilessus; white scars in its side mark the site of the modern marble quarries, which are not far from the ancient. The summit of the mountain is about 11½ miles, in a direct line, from the Acropolis. Hymettus (3369 ft.) is the elongated mountain on the eastern borders of the plain. Its sides are scored with deep and rugged ravines; the Southern and lower third, cut off by a high pass, is the Anhydros or Waterless Hymettus. Even more than for its marble was the mountain famous for its bees, which gathered honey, as they do to-day, from the wild thyme and savory and other fragrant herbs growing on its rugged slopes. But its most wonderful feature is the glow cast over it by the setting sun; *purpureos colles florentis Hymetti* the poet Ovid called the deep-tinted heights. Marking the W. border of the plain are the lower summits (1535 ft.) of Mt. Aegaleus, or Corydallus, which divides the Athenian from the Eleusinian plain. Aegaleus is really a spur of Parnes and is joined to it by the low ridge (564 ft.), over which the railroad to the Peloponnesus now passes. In Aegaleus, almost directly west of Athens, is a low pass (416 ft.) where now is the mediaeval monastery of Daphní; here in antiquity ran the Sacred Way which led to the mystic close at Eleusis. In the middle of the plain is another low range, the ancient Anchesmus, which terminates abruptly at the south end in the conical hill of Lycabettus (912 ft.), at the northern edge of modern as of ancient Athens; it is now crowned by the little chapel of St. George."

"The arid, calcareous soil of the Athenian plain produces little vegetation save olive and fig trees, though by irrigation considerable tracts are being redeemed for vineyards and gardens. Thucydides and other ancient writers mention the thinness of the soil, which, except along the Cephissus, in many places barely hides the rock beneath. The upper slopes of the mountains support the holm oak and a variety of shrubs, but the lower declivities and the strip of plain adjoining have forests, which are subject to destructive fires. Athens itself contains few trees, except those planted in the parks; apparently in antiquity it was not much better off in this respect, though we read of planes and other trees in the Agora and the parks and along the Ilissus."



XXI
MARATHON

XXI

MARATHON

For the location of the town of Marathon, see on No. II. Marathon was a member of an ancient Tetrapolis, comprising Marathon, Oenoë, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus or Tricorynthus; for purposes of religion this league survived into classical times (*J. G. ii. 1324* = Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*, 3rd ed., 930).

The plain of Marathon, the scene of the memorable defeat of the Persians by the Athenians in 490 B.C. (in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* iv. 233, 245, it is proposed to take 491 as the date), is a crescent-shaped stretch of flat land extending round the shore of a spacious bay and bounded on the landward side by a semicircle of steep mountains, with bare rocky sides, which rise abruptly from the plain. To N.-E. the plain is terminated by the narrow rocky promontory of Cynosura running S. far into the sea; to S. by Mt. *Agrieliki*, a spur of Pentelicus, leaving only a narrow strip of flat land between it and the sea, where there runs the only carriage road to this region from Athens. The length of the plain from N.-E. to S.-W. is *ca.* 6 miles; its breadth varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The shore is a shelving, sandy beach. A great swamp, divided from the sea by a narrow strip of sandy beach, occupies most of the N. end of the plain; it is deepest at its W. side, where it is fed by powerful subterranean sources, the Macaria of the ancients. Half-way up the slope of the hill above *Kato-Souli* there are some shallow, niche-like excavations in the rock, perhaps "the mangers of the horses of Artaphernes" mentioned by Pausanias. The salt lake of *Drakonera*—where sea fish are caught—has perhaps been formed since Pausanias's time, as he does not mention it; it discharges itself into the sea by a stream close to Cynosura. There is a much smaller swamp called *Vrexisa* between the sea and Mt. *Agrieliki*.

The famous mound, now called *Sorós*, which covers the remains of the 192 Athenians who fell in the battle, rises from the plain a mile from the foot of the hills, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the sea, and *ca.* $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N. of the marsh of *Vrexisa*; it is conical, *ca.* 30 ft. high and 200 paces in circumference. The Greek excavations of 1890-1891 (objects in the Athens Museum) disclosed, at a depth of 9 ft. below the present surface of the plain, an artificial floor, constructed of sand and other materials, *ca.* 85 ft. long and 20 ft. broad. On this floor there rested a layer *ca.* 1 to 4 in. thick, composed of ashes, charcoal, and human bones, charred by fire; mixed with these were *ca.* thirty earthenware *lekythoi*, most of them broken in pieces, and some other vases. A sacrificial pit or trench *ca.* 30 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, cased, and originally roofed, with burnt (?) bricks, extended diagonally under the mound from N. to S.; it contained broken vases, and the bones of the victims sacrificed to the heroic dead after the pyre had died down and before the mound was heaped over their remains. There also seemed to be some traces of sacrifices that were (periodically?) offered at the mound after it had been erected.

Scattered about the plain and in the glens which open off it there are remains of ancient buildings, collectively considerable though individually insignificant.

It is needless to tell again the story of the famous battle. As to the positions of the hostile armies, all that may be regarded as certain or fairly probable is that the Persians were posted to the N. and the Athenians to the S., and that many of the defeated Persians were driven into the great swamp at the N. end of the plain. It is further reasonable to suppose that the great mound was erected on the spot where the fight had been hottest and where the Athenians had suffered most severely.



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Standard Geog. Estab.

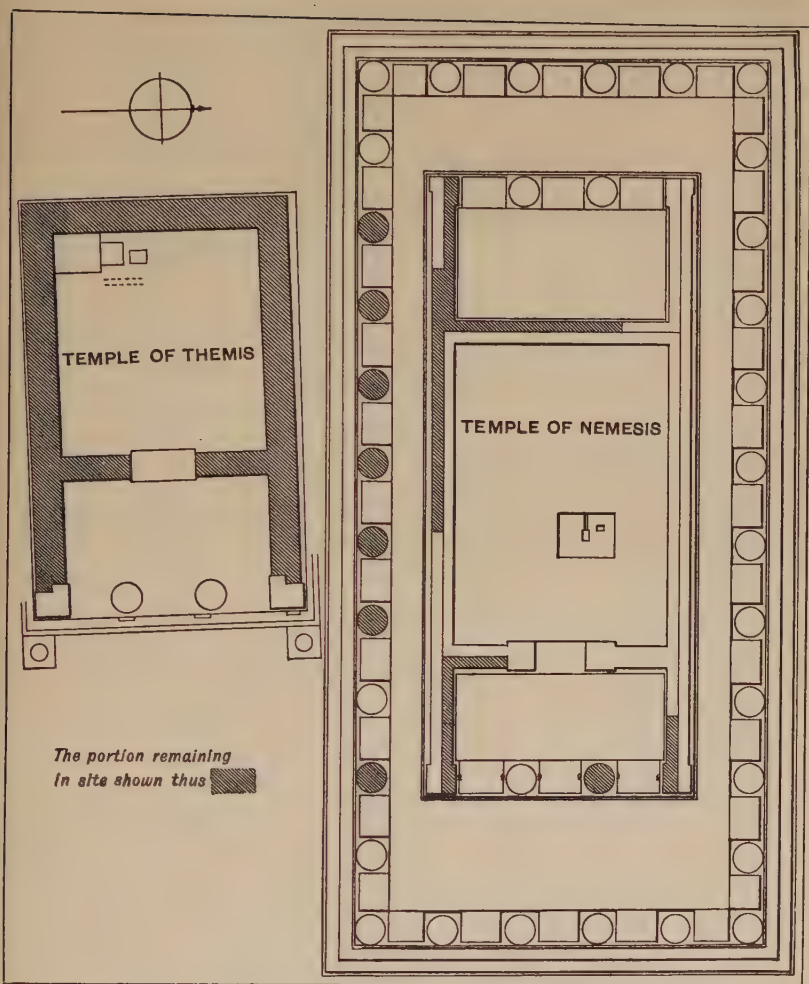
XXII

PLAN OF TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS

PLAN OF TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS

THE terrace on which are the remains of the two temples of Nemesis (i. 33. 2-8) and Themis is situated at the head of a deep, narrow, woody glen, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long, which descends rapidly in a N.-E. direction to the seashore. The terrace is 150 ft. wide and faces the sea. The two walls, which support it at right angles to each other, are beautifully constructed of large blocks of white marble, laid in horizontal courses, but not jointed vertically. The temples stand nearly in the middle of the terrace, side by side, but not quite parallel to each other. The larger temple and the walls of the smaller one—as well as the terrace walls, and the fortifications on the hill by the sea,—were built of a fine white marble which was quarried close by; *ca.* 20 yards away the marks of the quarrying tools can still be seen on the rock. The larger temple measures 71×33 ft. on the stylobate; it is Doric, and its outer columns are unfluted except for a very small distance at the top and bottom, which seems to show that it was never finished; those in the *pronaos* have eleven flutes in front and nine planes behind. All the members of the cornice were painted or gilt; among the patterns introduced were the lotus and maeander; on the less exposed portions the incised outline still remains. There are sufficient pieces of every part of the superstructure lying about to allow of a complete reconstruction, including roof and ceiling. From its style the temple appears to have been built about the middle of the fifth century B.C.; that it was the sanctuary of Nemesis is proved by a dedicatory inscription to that divinity (*I. G.* iii. 811) which was found in it, and is confirmed by the discovery in the temple of fragments of the sculptures described by Pausanias (now in the Athens Museum).

The smaller temple, 35×21 ft., is Doric *in antis*; the walls, still standing to a height of 6 to 9 ft., are built of white marble hewn in large polygonal blocks, fitted together with the nicest precision and polished on their outer surface, whereas the columns and all the architectural ornaments are of common stone; the edifice is clearly archaic in date. In the *pronaos* stood two marble seats, one on each side of the doorway; in the *cella* were three statues with their pedestals; inscriptions on some of these identify the divinity as Themis; these objects are now in the Athens museum; their dates range from the fifth to the second century B.C. or later.



PLAN OF TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS

XXIII

SANCTUARY OF AMPHIARAUS
AT OROPUS

SANCTUARY OF AMPHIARAUS AT OROPUS

PAUSANIAS's brief account (i. 34) gives an invaluable picture of a rustic shrine of a hero-god, with its cult, its dream-oracles, and the healing imparted to pilgrims by these beneficent agencies.

The sanctuary lies in a pleasant little glen among low hills partially wooded with pine, *ca.* 4 miles S.-E. of Oropus. A brook flows through the glen, and when swollen by rain has carried away the adjacent portion of the sacred area and in particular nearly the whole S. half of the temple of Amphiaraus. The Greek Archaeological Society began excavating here in 1884; it is still extending its investigations, with a valuable yield especially of inscriptions.

The remains of the temple are at the W. end of the precinct; it appears to have been a Doric structure, *ca.* 95 × 43 ft., with six columns between *antae* at the E. end. The *cella* had two rows of five columns each; on the base, *ca.* 5 ft. 4 in. wide, in the central aisle, probably stood the image of Amphiaraus mentioned by Pausanias; a piece of an arm of colossal size found within the temple may have been part of it. The lower parts of the N., and the N. part of the W. walls—the rest are lost—consist of a socle of squared blocks formed of orthostates between narrow courses; the upper parts are constructed of small stones bonded with mortar or clay. In the middle of the W. wall is a doorway leading into a small porch with two small unfluted columns at the angles. The temple seems to have been built in the Macedonian or early Roman period.

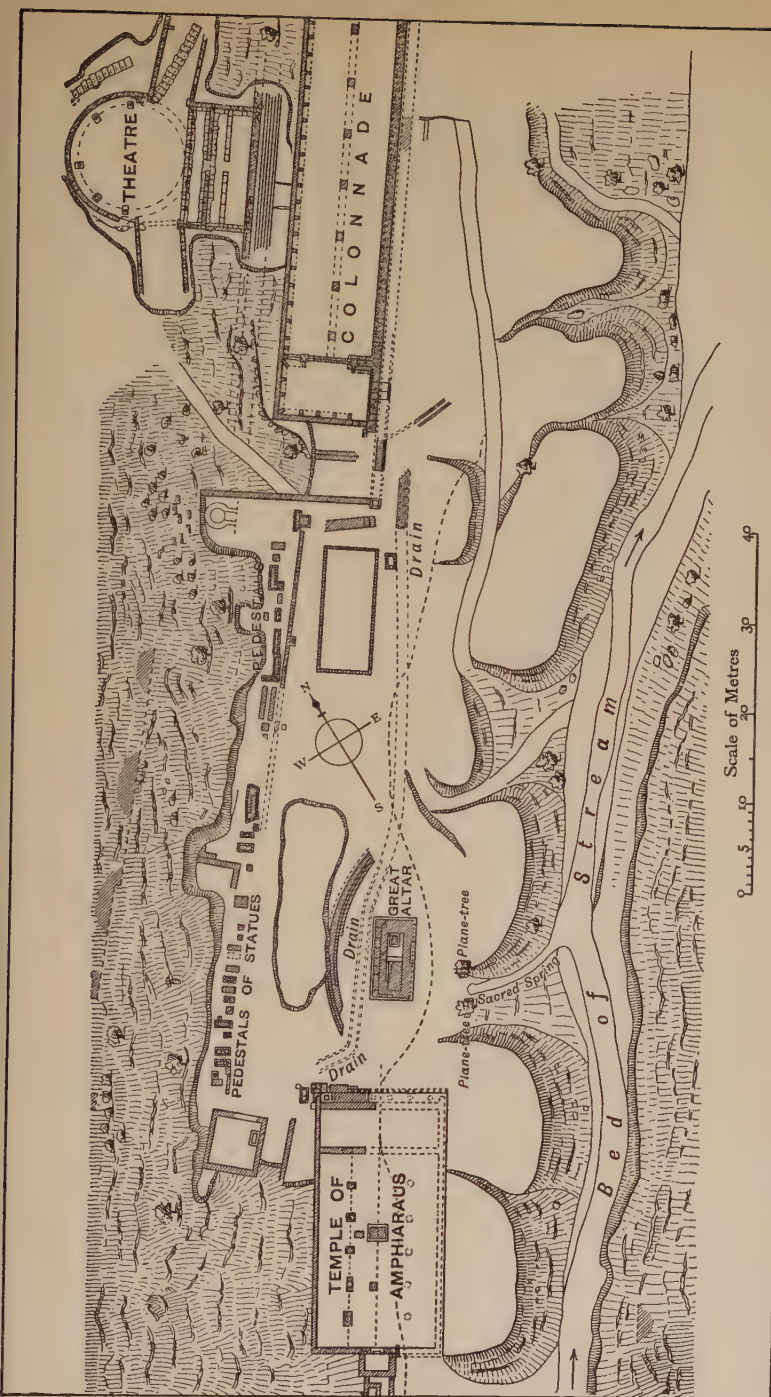
In front of the temple are the remains of the large altar, dedicated to many gods, which Pausanias described; its foundations are of large blocks of common stone, the preserved portion of the superstructure is of limestone; under it were discovered two fragments of older altars, proving that the later structure incorporated previously existing ones. At its side towards the higher ground are three curving steps or seats of common stone for the onlookers at the sacrifices. To the S. of the altar rises the sacred spring, described by Pausanias, into which patients who had been made whole used to throw money.

The long colonnade—perhaps the dormitory where the patients slept, mentioned in *I. G.* vii. 235—begins between 70 and 80 yards E. of the temple, and extends E. for a length of *ca.* 360 ft.; its depth is *ca.* 36 ft.; along its front, towards the stream, is a stylobate on which stood the Doric columns represented by fragments lying about; on the other sides it was closed by walls in the same style as the temple. The interior was divided cross-wise into three sections—a large central hall (*ca.* 310 ft. long) and a small wing at each end, to which access from the central hall was given by an aperture, closed apparently by a grating. The hall itself was divided lengthwise by a row of seventeen Ionic columns. A continuous row of marble benches ran all around the inner side of the three walls of the colonnade. The inner surface of the walls of the colonnade was coated with stucco and painted; traces of a wavy maeander pattern in red and green have been discerned at the N.-E. corner.

The space between the temple and the W. end of the colonnade is lined on the side away from the stream by a continuous row of pedestals which once supported statues and still bear many inscriptions. Beyond the further end of the colonnade was a bath, of which the foundations and conduit have survived; it was built before the third century B.C., but altered and repaired in Roman times.

Scooped out in the side of the glen, at the back of the colonnade, is a small theatre, the unpaired orchestra being only 39 ft. across. The remains of the *skené* suffice for its theoretical reconstruction, but of the seats there have been found only five chairs of white marble, standing at intervals, each on a marble base, in a curve around half of the orchestra.

For recent investigations see 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1921, 166-169.



Walker & Bonfill sc.

SANCTUARY OF AMPHIAURAUS AT OROPUS

XXIV

SACRED PRECINCT AT ELEUSIS, SHOW-
ING THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1882-1895

SACRED PRECINCT AT ELEUSIS, SHOWING THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1882-1895

THE remains of the sanctuary of Demeter are situated at the E. foot of a low rocky hill, a mile long, which runs parallel to the seashore at a distance of a few hundred yards and was the acropolis of Eleusis; the town itself lay on the level ground towards the sea. Greek archaeologists have completed the excavation of the *Telesterion* or Hall of Initiation itself, and are steadily progressing with the remainder of the site. The recent work of Professor F. Noack, *Eleusis, Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes*, text and plates, Berlin, 1927 (rev. by W. Wrede, in *Gnomon*, iv. (1928), 548-559) marks a great advance; in a few instances, indicated below, his results involve the revision of the plan; especially instructive is the region below and to the E. of the E. corner of the *Telesterion*.

The arrangement of the sanctuary and *Telesterion* appears on the plan. Within the precinct, the guidance of Pausanias fails us, since a dream had forbidden him to reveal the objects in the sanctuary of the Mysteries; before reaching the gate, however, he had pointed out several monuments including the well called *Callichorum* ("of fair dances") and the temple (or temples?) of Artemis of the Portal and Father Poseidon.

The historical development of this shrine as manifested in the monumental remains is in essentials as follows (with references to the colours of the plate):

In the third and second millennia B.C. the hillside was inhabited, as is shown by scattered pottery, house-walls, graves, and the tholos tomb a few minutes' walk to the S.-W. of the sanctuary; the grotto (behind the Temple of Pluto) was probably even then the seat of a cult. With the dawn of the Greek age, a terrace was constructed where later there stood the *Telesterion*: to this terrace belongs the primitive wall to the N.-W. of the curving wall (coloured green and lettered *b*), to W. of the eastern corner P of the structure of Ictinus.

Near 700 B.C. a temple of Demeter was erected on the rocky projection above the grotto,—above the sacred well, as stated in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*; and towards the end of the seventh century is built the earliest *Telesterion* (green, *a*),—in the foundations of which a "Lesbian" form of polygonal masonry is used, with curved contours, —together with its terrace (green, *b*) and enclosing-wall or *peribolos* (according to Professor Noack, the outer "red" wall, being a polygonal base for sun-dried brick; others have dated the part towards the Great Propylaea as late as *ca.* 400 B.C.).

In the latter part of the sixth century, under Pisistratus and his sons, there is constructed the oblong *Telesterion* with its portico (red, in *Karà* limestone and *poros* ashlar), also the inner E. fortification-wall (red, polygonal base for sun-dried brick); likewise a temple *in antis* on the hill (dotted outline to N. of the *Telesterion*).

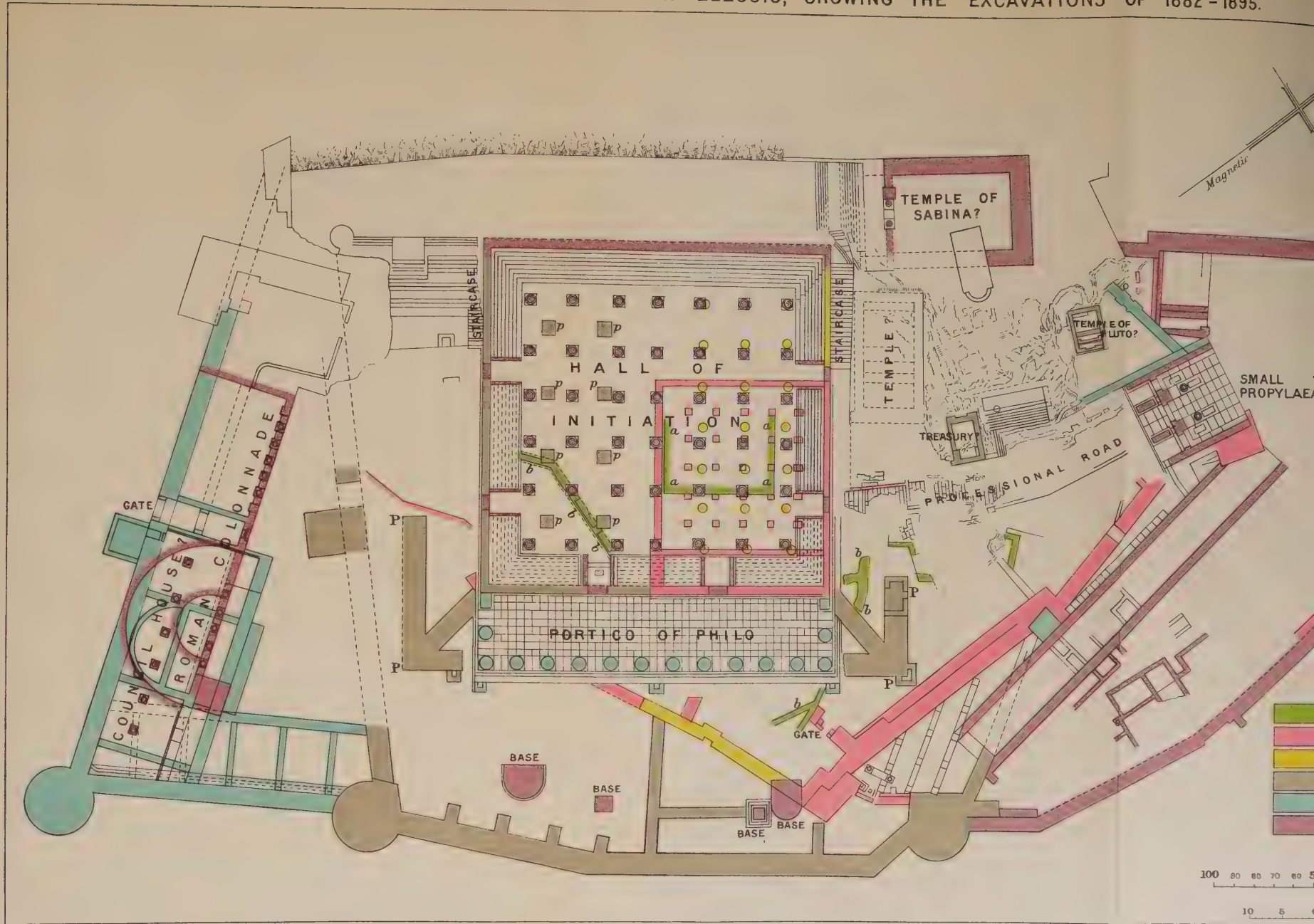
In 480-479 the Persians burn the shrine; shortly afterwards the (yellow) stretch of fortification-wall to E. of the Portico of Philo is constructed in refined "pseudo-isodomic" technique, on an earlier line but blocking the gate. Under Kimon it is resolved to extend the *Telesterion* on its N.-W. and S.-W. sides, thus forming a great square hall with its roof supported by 7 × 7 columns; the natural rock is cut away for a considerable distance, and preparations are made for 3 × 7 columns to the N.-E. (yellow) and the four other columns of the innermost N.-W. row (which are not indicated on the plate).

Under Pericles, Ictinus proposed to replace this project by a grandiose scheme (olive): this too was only in part executed—the square preparations for 2 × 4 columns in the S.-W. part of the hall, and the massive exterior corners with concealed buttresses, presupposing a portico, and some other details. Then this project was abandoned, and the three architects named by Plutarch (*Pericles*, 13) carried out a solution which was exactly repeated in the Antonine restoration (violet), when the shrine had been destroyed by fire; the great porch was constructed by Philo after the middle of the fourth century B.C. To the Periclean period belong the fortification-walls to S.-E. (olive) and the granaries (olive) between them and the inner wall.

In Cicero's time were built the Small Propylaea, and under the Antonines the Great Propylaea and other buildings at the entrance. The enclosure was extended to S. (blue) in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

K. Kuruniotes, 'Οδηγὸς τῆς 'Ελευσίνος, Athens, 1924.

SACRED PRECINCT AT ELEUSIS, SHOWING THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1882-1895.



XXV

MEGARA AND NISAEA

MEGARA AND NISAEA

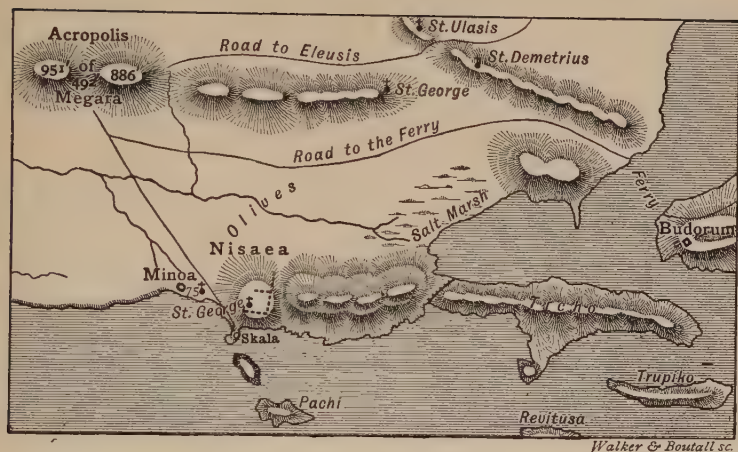
THE modern town of Megara stands on the site and has preserved the name of the ancient city. It is clustered on the slopes of two adjoining hills or rather of a single hill with a double summit, which rises from the plain, near its S.-W. corner, at some distance from the sea; the plain itself is 6 or 7 miles long by as many wide and is everywhere shut in by hills except on the side of the sea. Of the two hills on which the town stands, the E. is the lower and flatter; its slope is comparatively gentle. The W. hill, joined to it by a low ridge, is higher, more pointed, and steeper. The two citadels mentioned by Pausanias no doubt occupied these same two hills; it is generally supposed, from the order followed by Pausanias, that the E. hill was the acropolis called Caria (i. 40. 6), and the W. one Alcathous (i. 42. 1); but Caria appears to have been the older acropolis, and we should naturally expect that the W. hill, the higher and stronger of the two, would have been the first to be fortified.

The ancient remains are extremely scanty. On the S. side of the E. hill have been observed some pieces of the old fortification-wall; the remains of the fountain of Theagenes, mentioned by Pausanias (i. 40. 1), have been recognized; and fragments of columns, sculptures and inscriptions have been seen lying about or built into mediaeval and modern structures.

Nisaea, as the port of Megara was still called in the time of Pausanias, was distant *ca.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile; as late as the middle of the nineteenth century the scanty remains of one of the Long Walls which the Athenians built *ca.* 459, and the Megarians razed in 424 B.C., were to be seen about half-way between the two; at present, though the direction of the walls may be followed, hardly any remains can be pointed out. On the W. side of the bay which forms the harbour there rises a steep, isolated hill *ca.* 150 ft. high, crowned with a mediaeval fortress which is largely built of ancient blocks. On the E. side of the bay is a much higher hill surmounted by a chapel of St. George. This hill appears to have been the acropolis of Nisaea mentioned by Pausanias; the remains of the fortification-wall, *ca.* 6 ft. thick and strengthened with towers, have been traced on the S., E., and N. sides of the hill; the W. side is naturally strong, and at its foot lay the town and harbour of Nisaea, so that fortifications were here not so necessary. In the S. wall there is a gateway *ca.* 6 ft. wide. From the N.-E. corner the E. wall is prolonged for *ca.* $\frac{1}{4}$ mile down the slope of the hill to the plain; in this stretch five or six towers may be made out.

The lower W. hill appears to have been what Thucydides (iii. 51) and Pausanias (i. 44. 3) call the island of Minoa; Thucydides describes it as not far from the shore, to which it was united by a bridge or causeway built over a shoal. If this identification is right, then the shoal water has been filled up with alluvial soil brought down by the streams whose beds, now dry, skirt two sides of the hill; even in Strabo's time the shoal would seem to have been half silted up, since he describes Minoa as "a headland forming the harbour at Nisaea" (ix. 1. 4), though Pausanias, a century and a half later—perhaps influenced by his literary sources—still calls Minoa an island. The ancient walls of Minoa are best preserved at the obtuse N.-W. angle of the mediaeval fortress, and especially on its S.-W. side, about one-third up the hill. There are also vestiges of the lower town of Nisaea; and from the S.-E. foot of the hill of Minoa some remains of an ancient mole may be traced extending into the sea and curving round to the E., so as to shelter the ancient harbour. The present port is not here, but at the little rocky headland which juts out from the S. side of the hill of St. George.

E. L. Highbarger, *The History and Civilization of Ancient Megara*, Part I. (*Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, No. 2), Baltimore, 1927.



MEGARA AND NISAEA

XXVI

CORINTH

PAUSANIAS comes (ii. 2. 4) from Cenchreae to the market-place, which he inspects and which he makes the starting-point for detours, first (3. 2) along the Lechaëum road, then (3. 6) along the Sicyon road, and finally (4. 6) to the Acro-Corinth and beyond (see on No. III). He says (2. 6): "The remarkable objects in the city include some remains of ancient Corinth, but most of them date from the period of the restoration."

Strabo (viii. 21, tr. Jones) utilised earlier writers, and also visited Corinth in person soon after it had been rebuilt by the Romans in 44 B.C.; he says: "A lofty mountain with a perpendicular height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ stadia, and an ascent of as much as 30 stadia, ends in a sharp peak; it is called Acrocorinthus, and its N. side is the steepest; and beneath it lies the city in a level, trapezium-shaped place close to the very base of the Acrocorinthus. . . . Now the summit has a small temple of Aphrodite; and below the summit is the spring Peirene. . . ." (Pausanias too had heard the name applied to this upper spring, but the usage seems not to be early.)

The site of ancient Corinth then is a spacious rocky plateau, of soft deposits of the latest tertiary period, *ca.* 300 ft. above sea-level, extending toward the sea at the N. foot of the limestone Acro-Corinth; an adjacent lower plateau forms the transition to a third, still lower, level stretch extending almost to the shore at Lechaëum. The American excavations are situated near the N.-W. corner of the city, but this area must have been the centre of interest of the Roman colony, for it includes the market-place and a number of the monuments which Pausanias enumerates.

The accompanying plan, by Dr. W. B. Dinsmoor, is reproduced through the courtesy of the American School; we add:

1. North Building: a basilica, built of *poros* in the first century B.C.; afterwards enlarged and rebuilt in marble. At a lower level, evidence for a hall and shops of the fifth century B.C.

2. Captives Façade: an ornate Roman front for (apparently) an open court which lay between the basilica and the N. side of the market-place; details in museum.

3. Triglyph Wall, and 4. Temple B, with the Sacred Spring: well-preserved remains of the fifth century B.C. or even earlier, which lay concealed in the Roman period. The inscription from the region is in the museum; the S.-E. face of the triglyph wall (colours now much faded) was originally laid in a straight line; the problem of the concealed passage and drain is of special interest.

The Temple of Apollo: The monolithic columns of soft limestone were coated with Greek, and then Roman, stucco, which may be seen on the S. columns; the rock-cuttings for foundations show that there were two *cellae*, back to back, at different levels; in the E. part of the S. wall can still be seen some remains of the treasure-chest lined with Greek hydraulic cement; it has been possible to assign to an early period of this large, very archaic Doric temple the elements of a terra-cotta revetment executed on a gigantic scale (E. Douglas Van Buren, *Gr. Fictile Revetments*, p. 25).

The fountains of Pirene and Glaucæ are the most perfectly preserved representatives of the archaic rock-cut spring-house; the successive restorations of the former illustrate the history of Corinth in all periods.

Recent excavation has brought to light still more of the theatre, including elements of the good Greek period, and of the Odeum, built about the middle of the first century A.D., thoroughly restored in the second century A.D., doubtless by Herodes Atticus, and again remodelled, this time in shabby workmanship, in the early third century.

Byvanck and Lenschau, "Korinthos," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopædie*, Suppl. iv. 991-1036. *Ancient Corinth, a Guide to the Excavations and Museum.* Amer. Sch. at Athens, 1928. Bibl. by F. J. de Waele, in *Gnomon*, iv. (1928), 560-563. Reports, in *A. J. A.*

CORINTH

MAIN EXCAVATION AREA + 1896-1927

William B. Dinsmoor del.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Greek and Roman Superstructures □ Greek and Roman Pavements ▨ Greek Foundations ▩ Early Roman Foundations ▧ Later Roman Foundations ▦ Medieval and Modern Structures ▤ Subterranean Conduits and Walls --- Open and --- Filled Excavations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 North Building 2 Captives Façade 3 Triglaph Wall 4 Temple "B" 5 Steps to Temple "E" 6 Arch of Sicyonian Road 7 Temple "C" 8 Propylae of Temple "C" 9 Temple "A" 10 Apse of Peribolos of Apollo 11 Southeast Building |
|---|--|

±358 Meters above or below West Stylobate of Temple of Apollo

SCALES:

0 10 20 30 40 50 Metres 0 50 100 150 Feet

BATHS OF HADRIAN ?

THEATER

ST ATHANASIOS

ATHENA CHALINITIS ?

ODEUM

GLAUCE

TEMPLE "C"

TEMPLE OF APOLLO

NORTHWEST STOA

NORTHWEST SHOPS

ST JOHN

AGORA

STRAIGHT ROAD

PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO

PHOYLAEA

PIRENE

TEMPLE "E"

KOIMESIS TES THEOTOKOY

XXVII
MYCENAE

XXVII

MYCENAE

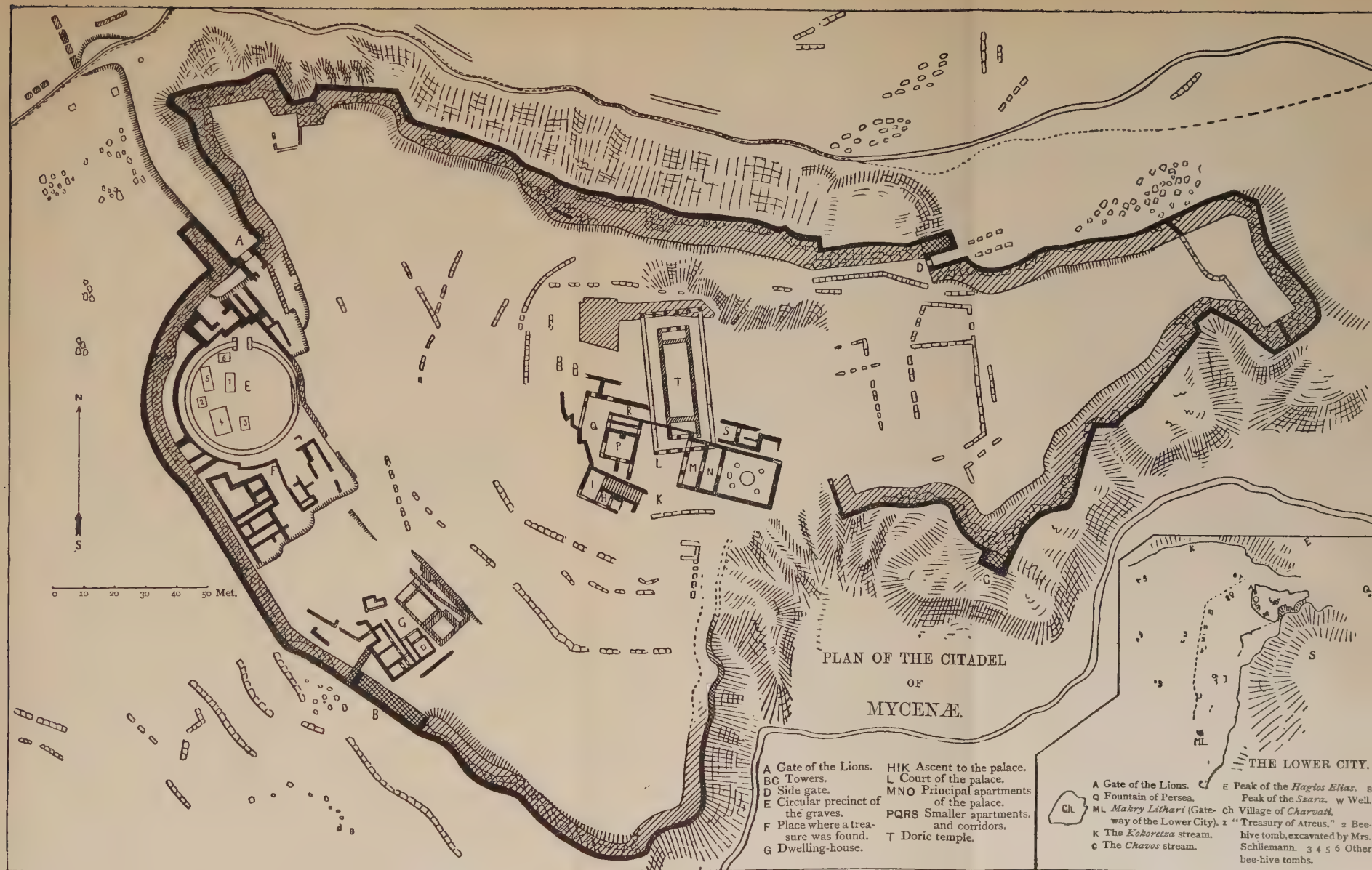
THE excavations of the British School at Athens, conducted by Mr. A. J. B. Wace in 1920-1923 in the light of Cretan discoveries and the increased knowledge of the Bronze Age culture of the Greek mainland, have advanced the interpretation of this site. Mycenae was already a populous settlement in Early Helladic times (third millennium B.C.), but its acme was in the early part of the third Late Helladic period (early fourteenth century B.C.). It is to this period that there belong the circuit-walls of the citadel; these are preserved in their entire extent (though not at their original height), with the exception of a small piece that has collapsed S.-E. of the Palace, and the "Polygonal Tower" at the S., classical in date. The greater part is built in the "Cyclopean" style, roughly-hewn blocks of hard grey limestone being piled upon each other without order and bonded by small stones and clay; in the thickness of the wall near the N.-E. corner is a stepped gallery, descending to a great depth, its sides coated with cement, apparently a reservoir. At conspicuous points, such as the approach to the Lion Gate, ashlar is adopted, with large hammer-dressed blocks of conglomerate, and the saw is used to dress the flanges of the lintels and side-posts, a technique found at Tiryns as well as in the Treasury of Atreus.

The Lion Gate (A) is unique for the preservation of the relief in the triangular space above the lintel; the heads of the lions were probably executed in some softer stone; the symbolism is frequent in the art of the Bronze Age of Crete and Greece. Within this gate is the Grave Circle: the contents of the famous graves are in the Athens Museum. This area contained, at a low level, Middle Helladic burials. At the end of M.H., not long before the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C., part of this cemetery became reserved for royal interments, the graves of the Shaft Grave Dynasty. Then arose the Tholos Grave Dynasty (L.H. II., III.). Early in L.H. III. (the early fourteenth century B.C.), the whole citadel was replanned and enlarged, and the remains of the earlier princes were protected by the construction of the round enclosure, the filling-in with a deep layer of earth, and the erection of the carved stelai: the old grave area was regarded as sacred, the nucleus of a form of hero-cult.

A palace dominating the citadel was originally built under the Shaft Grave Dynasty (L.H. I.). This, with alterations, would have served in L.H. II. for the earlier kings of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty. Later, at the beginning of L.H. III., at the culmination of that Dynasty, a second palace arose here, the ruins of a section of which have been uncovered (plan, H-S); it seems to have lasted till the fall of Mycenae, and would have been the home of the Atridae. The very summit, which had been occupied by the highest terrace of the palace, was levelled off in the late seventh century B.C., to give space for the Doric Temple (T) (sculpture in the Athens Museum). The more substantial house-foundations within the citadel date from the great age of Mycenae, but the small and badly-built ones are Hellenistic.

There was no walled lower town here in prehistoric times: the former explanation of the *Makry Lithari* is now abandoned. The Hellenistic lower city (see inset to plan) lay to W. and S.-W. of the acropolis and was slight in extent. The nine Tholos Tombs fall into three groups of three each: the Cyclopean Tomb (4), Epáno Phournos (3), using rough undressed blocks in the Cyclopean manner with somewhat larger stones at the angles, Tomb of Aegisthus (E. of "Mrs. Schliemann's t."), which with its doorway remodelled in ashlar represents a transition; Panagia (S.-E. of 3), Kato Phournos (upper 5), Lion Tomb (6), where the use of ashlar makes progress; Treasury of Atreus (1), Tomb of Clytemnestra (2, "Mrs. Schliemann's t."), Genii (N. of 4), showing the perfection of the type, contemporary with the Lion Gate and the last great period of Tiryns.

Ann. British Sch. at Athens, xxxiv., xxxv., 1919-1923 (followed above, often *verbatim*). Sir Arthur Evans, *The Shaft Graves and Bee-hive Tombs of Mycenae and their Interrelation*, London, 1929, suggests, however, that the Shaft Graves and the Tholos Tombs represent one and the same Dynasty, the contents of the latter having been transferred to the former *ca.* 1450 B.C. A work by Dr. G. Karo on the Grave Circle is announced.



XXVIII

- (1) SECTIONAL PLAN OF THE SO-
CALLED TREASURY OF ATREUS
AT MYCENAE
- (2) TRANSVERSE SECTION THROUGH
THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CITA-
DEL OF TIRYNS

SECTIONAL PLAN OF THE SO-CALLED TREASURY
OF ATREUS AT MYCENAE

THIS lies about the middle of the ridge below the acropolis, on its E. slope (1 on inset to No. XXVII). The passage leads horizontally into the hill from an artificial terrace; its entrance was blocked by a low wall of which only part of one course remains; the entrance was on made ground, but the rest of the passage was cut out of the soft rock, and floored with a thin layer of clay.

In the façade the use of the saw is comparatively common. Over the lintel is a relieving triangle. Attached columns, tapering downwards, rested on the bases which are still in place; their remains are in the British Museum and Athens; the opening of the relieving triangle was clearly marked with something, and dowel-holes in the upper façade show that some form of revetment was attached to it; fragments of such have been found here.

The inner lintel block measures $27\frac{1}{2}$ (below) and 29 (above) $\times 17 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ ft., and is computed to weigh *ca.* 300,000 English pounds; in its under side are two pivot-holes for the double door; on each of the side walls there are two vertical lines of bronze nails descending exactly to the front and back limits of the threshold. This, judging from the four bronze nails still in place, was protected by a covering. In 1920-1921, the two wedges of *poros* were temporarily removed; in the packing under the blocks were found a quantity of gold leaf, a few potsherds, and some other objects, including large bronze nails—apparently “decorators’ waste,” from the time of the construction of the tomb; all the potsherds are of Late Helladic III. date.

The dome itself, *ca.* 14.50 metres in diameter and 13.20 in height, is built up in a great excavation in the rock; the individual blocks of ashlar work in conglomerate, mainly hammer-dressed, merely touch at their inner angles, and the interspace is packed tight with small stones; at their backs the big blocks are counterweighted with a heavy mass of rough stones; the blocks in the lower courses are larger; the “eye” is capped by a large slab with a hollow in its under surface. The top of the dome projects above the surface of the hillside and is covered with a mound of earth. From the third course upwards smaller and larger holes may be seen at regular intervals in the stones; some still contain bronze nails for fastening metal rosettes or the like.

The rock-cut chamber, containing a grave-pit, is entered through a door with details resembling those of the main entrance; its threshold has long since disappeared; this room was probably intended to be used as a charnel chamber to receive the remains of earlier interments when the main chamber was being prepared for a fresh burial.

A. B. S. A., xxv. (1921-1923), 338-357, pls. 56, 57 (here followed in part *verbatim*).

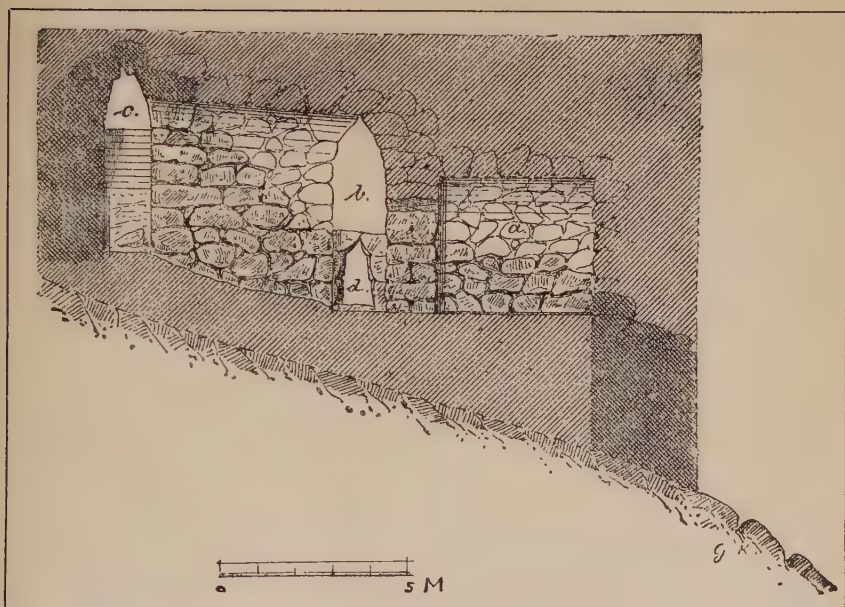
XXVIII (2)

TRANSVERSE SECTION THROUGH THE SOUTH WALL OF
THE CITADEL OF TIRYNS

THE disposition of galleries and chambers will be understood by comparing the ground-plan (No. XXX). From the court F a passage (not preserved) gave access to the corridor and staircase D (*c* in section), which led with a single bend into the long corridor C (*b* in section), which is $24\frac{1}{2}$ ft. lower. This is from 5 ft. to 5 ft. 7 in. wide; its W. end is completely closed, but its E. end is lit by a window (*a*) which, starting with almost the same width as the corridor, narrows towards the outside till it ends as a mere loop-hole 4 in. wide. The ceiling of the corridor is formed by the convergence of the side walls. Five doorways lead into five chambers (B in plan, *a* in section), doubtless magazines. A similar series, six in number, opening off a corridor, is found in the S. end of the E. wall of the citadel; here the stairway which gave access has been completely preserved. Remains of the summit of the E. wall, towards its S. extremity, are preserved: four bases of columns show that a colonnade was here built on the top of the wall so as to open inwards on the citadel.



SO-CALLED TREASURY OF ATREUS AT MYCENAE



SOUTH WALL OF THE CITADEL OF TIRYNS

XXIX
THE ARGIVE HERAEUM

THE ARGIVE HERAEUM

THIS, the chief sanctuary of Argolis, is situated on a terraced hill, 420 ft. high, rising in a somewhat insulated position at the foot of a bare, steep mountain. It is distant somewhat under 3 miles S.-E. of Mycenae; the ancient road can be traced at intervals, keeping well up on the steep mountain-side, and crossing the beds of several torrents on Cyclopean bridges, the ruins of which can still be seen. The hill forms a rough triangle, with its apex turned to the mountain and its back to the plain; to the N. there is a deep depression, and to N.-W. and S.-E. two deep ravines. The apex is a rocky peak; next to its S. is the uppermost terrace, on which stood the old temple; then the terrace of the fifth century temple; and below this still a third terrace.

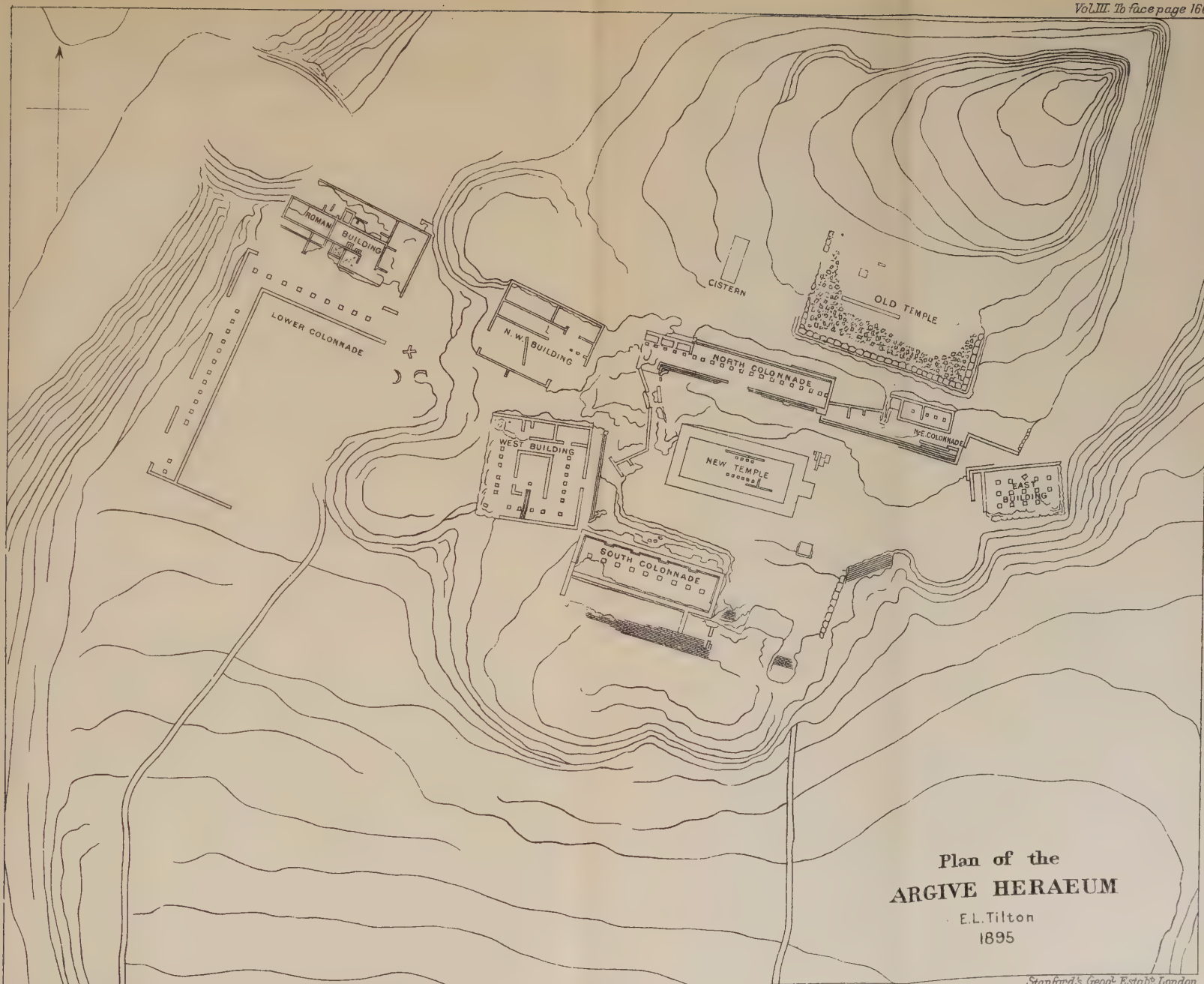
The uppermost terrace is supported on the S. by a retaining-wall some 59 yards long, built of huge irregularly shaped blocks of conglomerate heaped together in a rough Cyclopean style; one block is 18 ft. long. The excavators found two parallel areas characterised by a layer of hard black earth, 1 to 2 in. thick, resting on a layer of dark red soil and accompanied by pieces of charred wood, flat bricks showing the action of fire, and other indications of a conflagration: clearly the remains of the temple which was burnt in 423 B.C., the two parallel areas apparently marking the lines of the two cella walls; a structure of sun-dried brick with columns, etc., of wood, as in the Heraeum at Olympia, accords with the evidence. The only remains of consequence still visible on the spot are the pavement of irregular polygonal slabs, and a stretch of stylobate with traces of columns.

The retaining-wall of the middle terrace is built of regular masonry, mostly of an inferior sort. Of the temple for which Polyclitus made the cult-statue, only the well-preserved *poros* foundations are in place; fragments of the sculpture are in the Athens Museum (F. Eichler, in *Österr. Jahreshefte*, xix-xx. (1919), 15-153); and there was abundant material for a theoretical restoration—a hexastyle peripteral Doric edifice with interior columns; the order was of *poros*, but some of the upper parts marble.

The other structures on the middle and lowest terraces are such as are found at other sanctuaries like Epidaurus, Oropus, and Lycosura: long colonnades serving as protection from sun and rain by day and as dormitories by night; rectangular halls or groups of such which may have been used for great guild banquets; and to the N.-W. a bath establishment of the brick construction characteristic of the Roman period in Greece. The general result is a representative, fully equipped sanctuary, the archaic temple burnt in 423 B.C., and then replaced by a fine new structure on a lower, more accessible terrace, and the subsidiary structures ranging in date from the sixth century to the Roman time.

Furthermore, the American excavations of 1892-1895 disclosed the fact that this area was occupied, and that there was the cult of a female divinity in the neighbourhood of the later sanctuary, and tombs not far distant, in Mycenaean times. Knowledge of early conditions, however, entered on a new phase with Dr. Blegen's excavations of 1925-1928: it became clear that the upper part of the hill had served as the site of a settlement, the history of which can be traced through the whole of the Bronze Age; and evidence of similar occupation was found on the lower slopes. On the ridges beyond the ravine to N.-W. there have been explored many Mycenaean chamber-tombs with a rich yield of ceramics, and some Middle Helladic graves; and even more important was the discovery at several points in that area of Neolithic remains, while the so-called "Geometric Terrace" yielded a fragment of bronze *appliqué*, and other objects of artistic interest, dating from the seventh century B.C.,—apparently the seat of a subsidiary cult in that period.

Charles Waldstein (Sir Charles Walston) and others: *The Argive Heraeum*. Boston and N.Y., 1902, 1905. *A. J. A.* xxix. (1925), 356, 413-428; xxxi. (1927), 390 f.



Plan of the ARGIVE HERAEUM

E.L. Tilton
1895

SCALE OF METRES.
0 10 20 30 40 50

London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

Stanford's Geogr. Estab^{ts}, London

XXX
TIRYNS

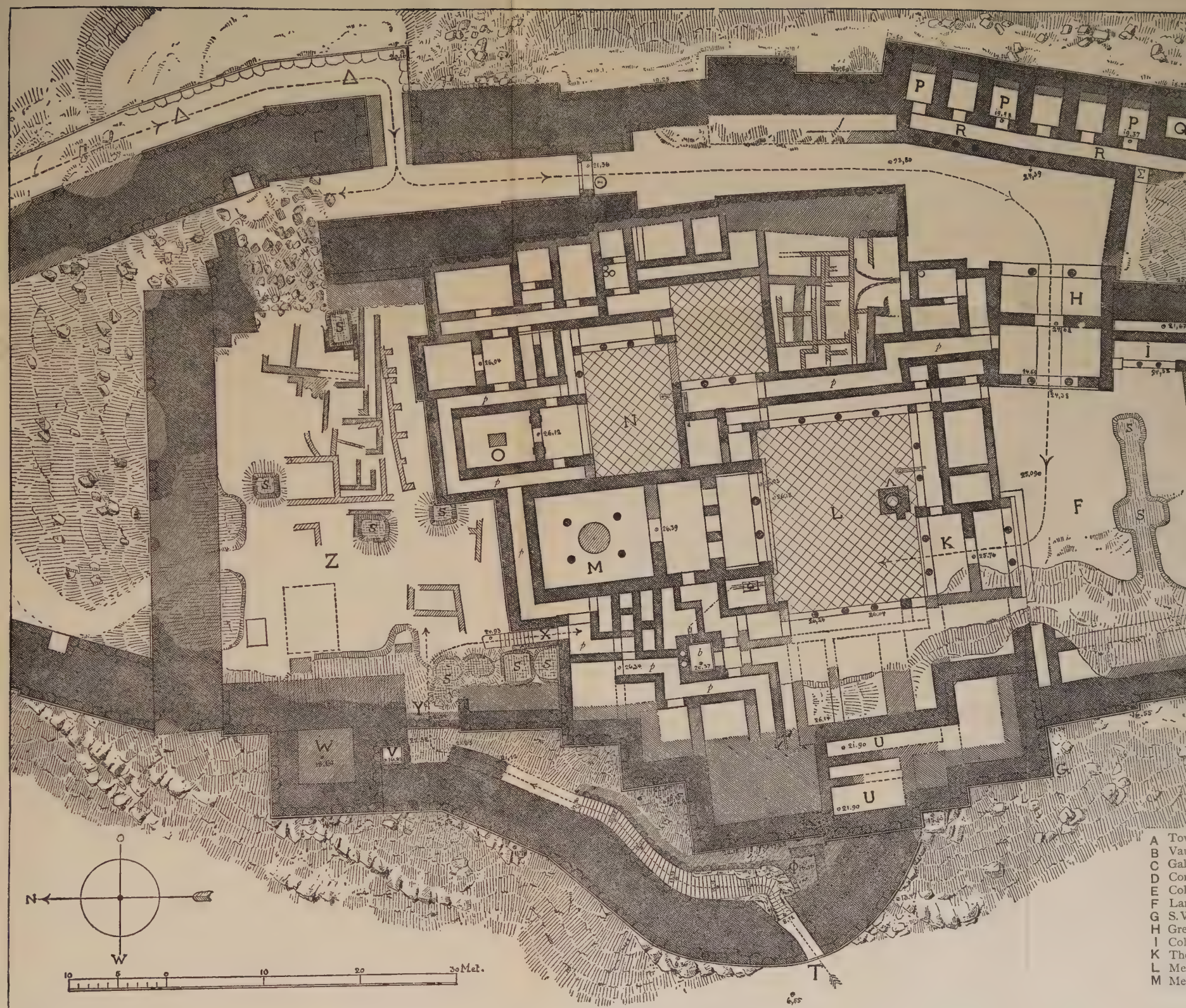
THIS citadel occupied the flat top of a limestone ridge, geologically an island in the alluvial plain, shaped like the sole of a foot, *ca.* 300 yards long and less than 100 yards wide, and at its highest point 86 ft. above the level of the sea, which now is *ca.* 1 mile distant, the shore having been considerably extended by alluvium since the Bronze Age. The palace area, or upper citadel, occupies the S. end. The circuit-wall of the citadel is built of very large blocks of limestone, wrought on one or more faces by the pick-hammer, with a tendency to horizontal courses, and with small stones and clay mortar in the interstices (the latter still visible in spots which until recently were buried); the limestone is of two sorts, quarried on neighbouring mountains, a hard weather-proof gray sort and a friable reddish sort; for members such as the thresholds, side-posts, and lintels of gates, use is made of a conglomerate which is sawn as in the great period of Mycenae.

As concerns the interior structures represented on the present plan and identified in its key, these belong chiefly to the definitive form of the palace, due to enlargement and rebuilding at several stages of the Late Helladic III. period; the towers, pointed niches, and galleries (No. XXVIII. 2) are among the latest additions before the catastrophe—the palace was burnt, apparently with violence; a period of reoccupation is represented by the narrowing of the great entrance in the E. circuit-wall, and the inferior house-walls built upon the foundations and pavement of the chief *megaron*, which until Dr. Blegen's study (*Korakou*, 130-134) were generally assigned to an archaic Doric temple.

The visitor to-day approaching the propylon H from the exterior will observe the evidence for an earlier period of the citadel—walls and entrance at a lower level; these belong to *ca.* 1400 B.C. But the history of the site has been carried many centuries further back: a huge oval structure of sun-dried brick, with an elaborate system of buttressing, lies at a low level beneath the S. part of the palace proper, and is dated in the nineteenth-eighteenth centuries B.C.; contemporary with it was a settlement represented by huts of diverse forms which have been found at various points of the hill.

The recent German investigations have added greatly to the knowledge of the citadel based on Schliemann's excavations. They have also uncovered a Late Helladic III. dwelling quarter at the S.-E. foot of the hill, built on earlier walls and intersected by Late Geometric *pitthos* graves. Further out in the plain in the same direction, a chance find in 1915 disclosed a rich hoard of metal objects, apparently the loot of some marauder (A. Philadelphus, in *Ἀρχ. Δελτιον*, ii. (1916), app. 13-21).

Frickenhaus and others, *Tiryns*, 2 vols., Athens, 1912. G. Karo, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Tiryns*, Athens, 1915. Möbius and Wrede, in *Jahrbuch des Inst.* xlii. (1927), *Anzeiger*, 365-370. The following resumes the last-cited account: 1. *Early Helladic* (third millennium B.C.): an extensive settlement covered the whole hill and vicinity; at least two layers; appears to last into Middle Helladic times. 2. *Middle Helladic* (*ca.* 2000-1600 B.C.): house ruins and graves; the first terracing and enclosing of the citadel. 3. *Late Helladic I.* (sixteenth century B.C.): the old enclosure continues in use; levelling operations result in the almost complete removal of the earlier strata from the upper citadel; remains of painted stucco testify to a palace. 4. Beginning of Late Helladic (*ca.* 1400 B.C.): construction of a citadel wall with large blocks and great gates, including the whole area of the later palace as far as to S. of the great forecourt; stucco fragments are evidence for the palace, but nothing is known of its form. 5. *Ca.* 1350-1250 B.C.: comprehensive rebuilding; extension of the circuit walls to S. and E., raising of level, refortifying of the Middle Citadel. 6. Later: the whole hill is included in a great fortification wall; the S.-E. and S. galleries and the W. postern are added, also the ramp to E., the two portals, while the courts assume their present form and the present palace is built. The small *megara* to E. of the great *megaron* are rebuildings of previously existing structures.



XXXI

THE SANCTUARY OF AESCULAPIUS
AT EPIDAUROS

THE SANCTUARY OF AESCULAPIUS AT EPIDAUROS

THE ruins of the sanctuary were excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society, under the direction chiefly of Dr. P. Kavvadias, at intervals from the year 1881 until that veteran archaeologist's death resulting from an attack which came upon him while he was engaged on his last campaign in the summer of 1928; the local museum is a monument to his devotion and skill. While there is testimony to the existence of a cult here (of "Apollo and Aesculapius") from early times, it was not until the fourth century B.C. that the gentle healing, physical and mental, especially associated with the name of the local hero physician, came to exert its great appeal; and it was then that the sanctuary assumed its present form.

Pausanias's account has been confirmed by the excavations. The theatre (No. XXXIII. 1) lies on the hillside to S.-E. of the area of this plan; the Rotunda is given on No. XXXII; here we begin at the N., where the pilgrim approached, if coming from the town of Epidaurus.

After crossing a small brook-gully, the highway passed through the Grand Portal, a limestone structure with Ionic columns; within it are three stone basins for purification; about twenty paces S. of the portal is a deep circular well, of archaic masonry. The poorly preserved foundations of the temple of Aphrodite are built of a friable red stone; nothing is preserved of the superstructure, but the plan lends itself to an edifice with three steps, a *cella* and a *pronaos*, either tetrastyle or *in antis*. *Ca.* 50 yards to the W. is a very large cistern of the Greek or early Roman period.

The Baths of Antoninus, the East Baths and the Music Hall, show their Roman date by the use of brickwork and mortar, in contrast to the blocks of stone used in most of the structures at this site; it should be observed, however, that except for monumental edifices like the temples, Rotunda, portals, and theatre, the Greek stonework consists only of the foundations, orthostates and levelling-course, above which the body of the wall was of sun-dried brick; the roofs would have been of terra-cotta.

We now enter the specially sacred area, built on its W. part on an artificial terrace, and bounded to N. by a double colonnade, the W. half of which is in two stories to correct the drop in the ground level. It was here that the pilgrims slept in expectation of inspired dreams; and at the E. end can be seen the sacred spring, and the bases which supported the six stone tablets with records of healing which Pausanias saw and which are partially extant in the museum. The remains of the temple of Aesculapius itself still in place are only foundations; but architectural fragments were found in sufficient numbers for a reconstruction; it was Doric, peripteral, without *opisthodomos*. The walls and order were of *poros* coated with stucco, the roof of wood, the tiles of marble. The sculptures in the gables, representing battles with Centaurs and with Amazons, and the Victories and Nereids that crowned the roof, belong early in the fourth century B.C.

Ca. 60 ft. to the E. of the temple was found a long inscription in letters of the early fourth century B.C. (*I. G.* iv. 1484), giving details as to cost and construction. Like the Rotunda, it was built by contract; amongst the contractors were men from Corinth, Argos, Stymphalia, and Crete. The whole work was under the superintendence of a single architect named Theodotus. A sculptor Timotheus is mentioned, doubtless the distinguished Athenian who collaborated on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, although just what the "models" or "reliefs" were for which he was paid is not clear, and scholars are not agreed as to the attribution to him of certain of the sculptured fragments.

The other buildings are partly temples (that of Artemis is identified by the use of dogs' heads on the cornice) and partly a sort of hostel or caravanserai. The Stadium was laid out as early as the first part of the fifth century B.C.; the cylindrical base at the N. end of the starting-line bears an inscription of the sculptor Thrasymedes who executed the cult statue of Aesculapius; the stone seats were individual benefactions of the Hellenistic period; the starting-line was given its present arrangement in Roman times. The Hippodrome lay some distance away to the S.-W.

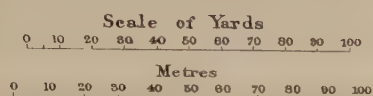
P. Kavvadias, *Tò 'Ιερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ* . . ., Athens, 1900; and various articles in *'Αρχ. Ἐφ.* and *Πρακτικά*,

SANCTUARY OF AESCULAPIUS AT EPIDAUROS

GROUND PLAN

Showing the Excavations to December 1895

BY J. G. FRAZER



GREAT CISTERN

TEMPLE OF
APHRODITE

BATHS OF
ANTONINUS

Great Colonnade
West Colonnade

ROTUNDA

TEMPLE OF AESCULAPIUS

TEMPLE OF
ARTEMIS

Subterranean
Aqueduct

EAST
BATHS

Cistern

ROMAN
HOUSE

PORTAL OF
GYMNASIUM

83
Yards

76½ Yards
WEST
GYMNASIUM

MUSIC
HALL
ORCHESTRA
STAGE

Well

GRAND PORTAL

Road to Epidaurus

XXXII

THE ROTUNDA AT EPIDAUROS

THE ROTUNDA AT EPIDAUROS

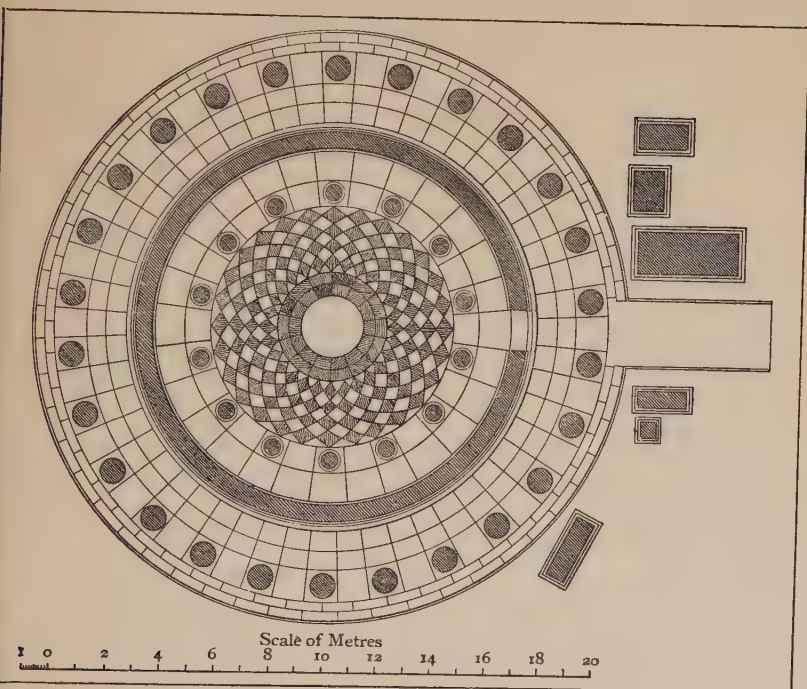
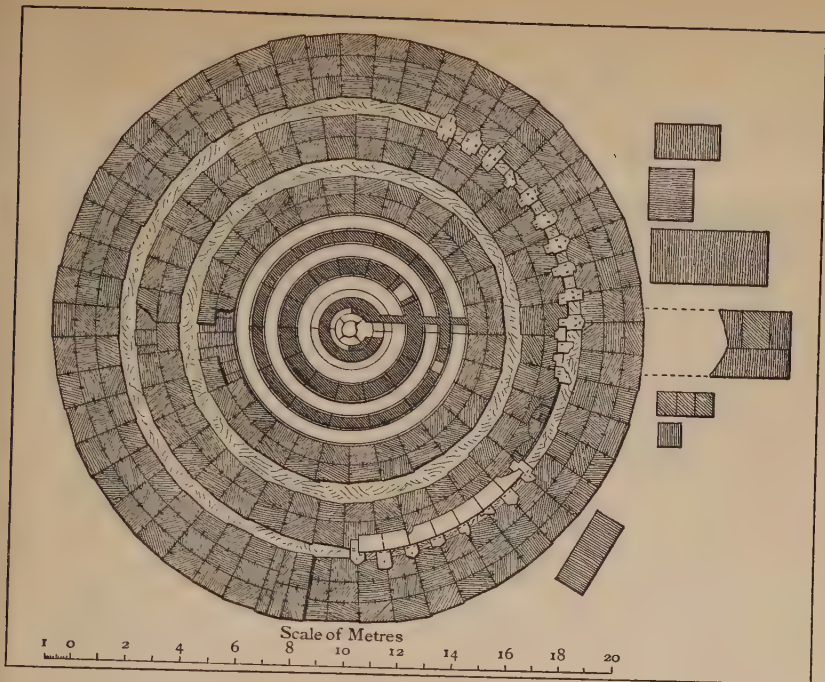
THESE remains are situated some 70 ft. S.-W. of the temple of Aesculapius. Only the foundations are standing; but other fragments allowed of the admirable reconstruction in the museum (Kavvadias, in *Πρακτικά*, 1907, 183-186; Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, 1909, 536-540). The diameter is 107 ft. The foundations consist of six concentric walls built of *poros*. The outermost supported the twenty-six Doric columns of the peristyle; the second supported the circular wall; the third supported fourteen interior Corinthian columns; and the three innermost supported the floor. These three innermost rings, with their cross-walls and gates, form a sort of labyrinth which, when the building was completed, was inaccessible; they differ from the three outer rings in thickness, in depth of foundations, and in horizontal joints; the outermost of the short partition-walls is not structurally incorporated with the adjacent ring wall. It is clear (F. Noack, in *Jahrbuch des Inst.*, xlii. (1927), 75-79) that the central portion of the Rotunda was constructed at an earlier period, before the level of this part of the sanctuary had been raised by terracing, and that its present function is due to adaptation.

The entrance was approached by a ramp on the E. The outer stylobate was of *poros*, and supported columns of a fine grained *poros*, coated with stucco; the metopes were decorated with rosettes finely carved in relief. The outer base of the circular wall was of white marble; the inner base of black; the decorated band above the orthostates and below the (probable) windows, of Pentelic marble; the wall was crowned on the exterior by a course of black stone; the rest was of *poros*; there was no opening at the top. The interior Corinthian columns were of marble; this is one of the earliest known examples of the use of that order. At a depth of *ca.* 3 ft. under the ancient level of the soil there was found a Corinthian capital (now in the museum) almost intact, which yet, being without marks of attachment, had never formed any part of the colonnade to which, by shape and dimensions, it belonged. It had never received the final working of the surface; but it had not been rejected for any flaw, for it was carefully covered with tiles to preserve it from injury. The points of its acanthus leaves vary between five, six, and seven in number, whereas the fragments of the columns actually employed show five or six points only; it may thus have been an experiment. Perhaps too it may have been buried with some notion that so long as it remained intact the colonnade itself would stand entire.

The pavement in the interior, within the Corinthian colonnade, had diamond-shaped flags of black and white marble; the central flag was circular and white, 1.20 metres in diameter, and there was no aperture; Kavvadias's recent studies, cited above, show that our plan is to be modified as regards the pattern. The rest of the pavement was of limestone, except the part between the Doric columns, which was of tufa.

The ceiling, the cornice, and the floreate apex of the roof, were masterpieces of design and execution; the whole of the marble decorations of the building are carved with the utmost delicacy, recalling the Erechtheum at Athens, the round building at Delphi, and the temple at Tegea; this Rotunda is the latest of the series.

A long inscription (*I. G.* iv. 1485), found in the sanctuary, contains the accounts of moneys received and expended for the construction of the Rotunda, there called the *Thumela*, i.e. "altar" or "place of sacrifice." The work was spread over not far from thirty years; it was done by contract, different parts being assigned to different contractors. Some of these came from a distance, as from Athens, Paros, Troezen, and Tegea, and were allowed travelling expenses. The beginning of the inscription seems to date from about the middle of the fourth century B.C., and the final entries to have been inscribed *ca.* 320; this gives the approximate date of the Rotunda, and from this it follows that the architect Polyclitus, named by Pausanias,—to whom we must attribute apparently the completion of this edifice and the construction of the Theatre,—was not the famous Argive sculptor nor the second sculptor of that name, but belonged to a later generation.



THE ROTUNDA AT EPIDAUROS

XXXIII

(1) GROUND PLAN OF THEATRE AT
EPIDAUROS

(2) PLAN OF TEMPLE AT AEGINA

GROUND PLAN OF THEATRE AT EPIDAUROS

PAUSANIAS ii. 27. 5: "In the Epidaurian sanctuary there is a theatre which, in my opinion, is most especially worth seeing. It is true that in size the theatre at Megalopolis in Arcadia surpasses it, and that in splendour the Roman theatres far transcend all the theatres in the world; but for symmetry and beauty what architect could vie with Polyclitus? For it was Polyclitus who made this theatre and the round building also."

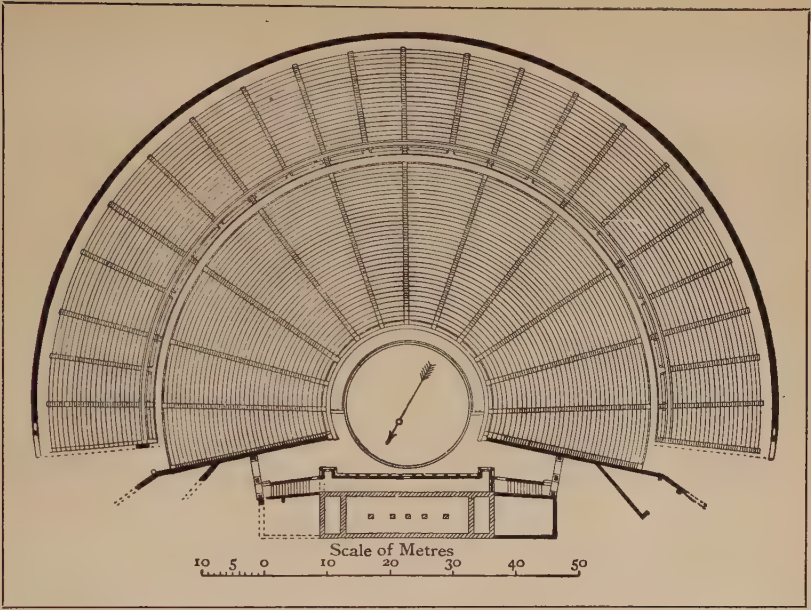
For the date of this Polyclitus, see the discussion of the Rotunda (No. XXXII). The beauty of proportion is due in part to the method adopted in laying out the curve of the *cavea*: three centres are used, forming among themselves an obtuse triangle; the primary centre, furthest from the *skéné*, serves for the eight middle sections, while the two secondary centres, which are placed *ca.* 23 ft. apart and with which is used a radius *ca.* 11½ ft. longer, serve the two outer sections on each side; the result approaches an ellipse, is slightly perceptible as one looks from the orchestra or *skéné* at the concentric tiers of seats, and can be observed in the widening out of the extremities of the flagged ring which runs about the inner part of the orchestra to serve both as passage for the audience and as gutter for rain-water.

Other features are the complete preservation of the circle of the orchestra with the foundation for the round altar at its centre; the *skéné*, which did not undergo radical modification in Roman times; the three rows of seats of honour, one at the edge of the orchestra, beyond the passage, the other two respectively above and below the diagonal passage part-way up the slope of the *cavea*; and the polychrome effect—especially noticeable after a rain, and certainly intentional when used for the seats of honour—which was obtained by the use of a different limestone—reddish, not grey—for certain parts of the *cavea*.

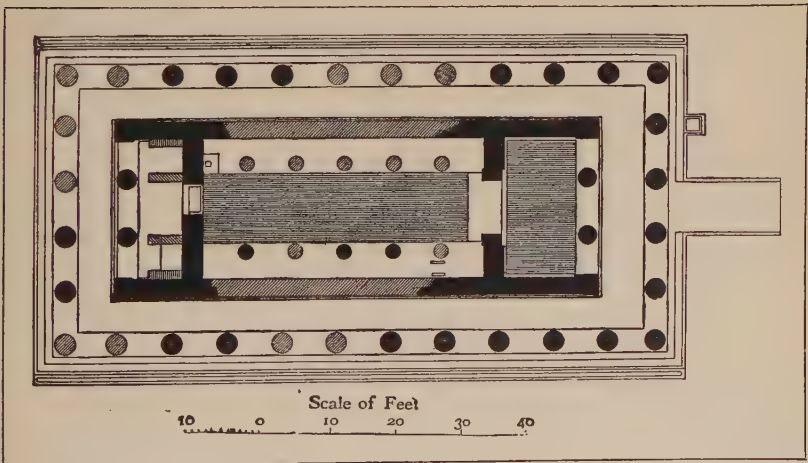
PLAN OF TEMPLE AT AEGINA

AFTER treating of the island of Aegina in general and then the town at its W. end, Pausanias continues (ii. 30. 3): "In Aegina, on the way to the mountain of Panhellenian Zeus, there is a sanctuary of Aphaea"; he gives the local legend, of Cretan origin, then proceeds to Mt. Panhellenius near the S.-E. corner of the island. Pausanias adopted a devious route; for the well-known temple near the N.-E. corner of the island is now identified by four stone inscriptions as sacred to Aphaia (A. Furtwängler and others, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Munich, 1906, giving the results of the Bavarian excavations of 1901). The most complete and most important inscription, with probable restorations, runs: "In the priesthood of Cleoetas there were constructed for Aphaia the house and the altar, and the ivory was added, and the wall was built round about." This commemorates the first constructional period of the shrine, in the second half of the seventh century B.C.; the finds of small objects, especially vase-fragments, show that the cult was already established here *ca.* 1400–1200 B.C. Numerous *poros* fragments attributable to a small temple *in antis*, which were found built into later structures, testify to a second period of construction, in the first third of the sixth century B.C. This temple was burnt, perhaps by the Persians in 490 B.C., and was replaced by the present edifice (sculptures in Munich and Athens; minor finds from the sanctuary in the museum at the town of Aegina). The same three periods appear in the accessory structures: I. uses a black crystalline trachitic rock, and to it belong the stretch of retaining-wall S. of the temple, the oldest form of the hostel (S. of the latest altar), and the oldest form of the altar (N. of the ramp); II. uses *poros*, and is represented by the second form of the altar (projecting N. of the latest structure), the propylon partly preserved to S.-W. of the latest altar, the central temple-like room incorporated in the later hostel, and the E. and part of the N. retaining-wall; to III., with a new orientation, belong the structures that were still standing in Pausanias's day.

Some details of the temple are the cuttings for grills at the E. end; the red cement floor, with indications of the position of the cult-statue; the modifications at the back; the system for carrying the rain-water from the N. slope of the roof to the rock cistern; and the depressions for the bases of the pediment statues on some large blocks now at the W. end of the area.



THEATRE AT EPIDAUROS



TEMPLE AT AEGINA

XXXIV

SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON IN
CALAURIA

SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON IN CALAURIA

THE sanctuary is situated on a saddle between the two highest peaks of the island, an hour's walk from the modern town of *Poros*; from its height of *ca.* 600 ft. above the sea, beautiful and wide prospects of shore, sea, and islands open between the wooded hills to both N. and S.; it was excavated by Swedish archaeologists in 1894.

The temple of Poseidon stood within a separate precinct at the N.-E. end of the sanctuary, away from the other buildings, forming a rectangle enclosed by walls of hard blue limestone, *ca.* 3½ ft. thick, which are preserved all round to an average height of *ca.* 2 ft.; they are meanly built of small irregular stones. The N. wall and part of the E. wall rest on a four-stepped base. There are two openings in the walls of the precinct: the principal one on the E. end and the other on the S. Of the temple itself the remains are exceedingly scanty, a few small pieces of pavement or foundations indifferently built of small stones; the edifice appears, however, to have had a peristyle of 6 × 12 Doric columns. The foundations of the peristyle were built of soft limestone, and the walls of the temple of hard blue limestone; the cornice was of marble with palmettes painted on it; the iron clamps had a Z shape and were run with lead; the shape of the clamps and other indications point to the sixth century B.C. as the date of construction; the terra-cotta antefixes here found probably preceded the marble cornice.

To the S.-W. of the temple there lies a group of buildings forming three sides of a large quadrangle. The "East Colonnade" is the best preserved. It is *ca.* 22 paces distant from the temple precinct, and faced S.-E. Preserved almost in their entire length, though to only a slight elevation, are the beautifully constructed stylobate in front and the lower parts of the three outer walls; each of the latter consists of a core of small stones faced on the outside and inside with polygonal blocks of blue limestone with smooth faces, well cut and well fitted together. Along the entire length of the colonnade ran two rows of columns—an outer row of sixteen Doric and an inner one of four Ionic columns; the latter rested, not on a stylobate, but on four separate foundations. To judge from the fine style of its masonry this colonnade must belong to the best period of Greek architecture; it has been assigned to the fifth century B.C.

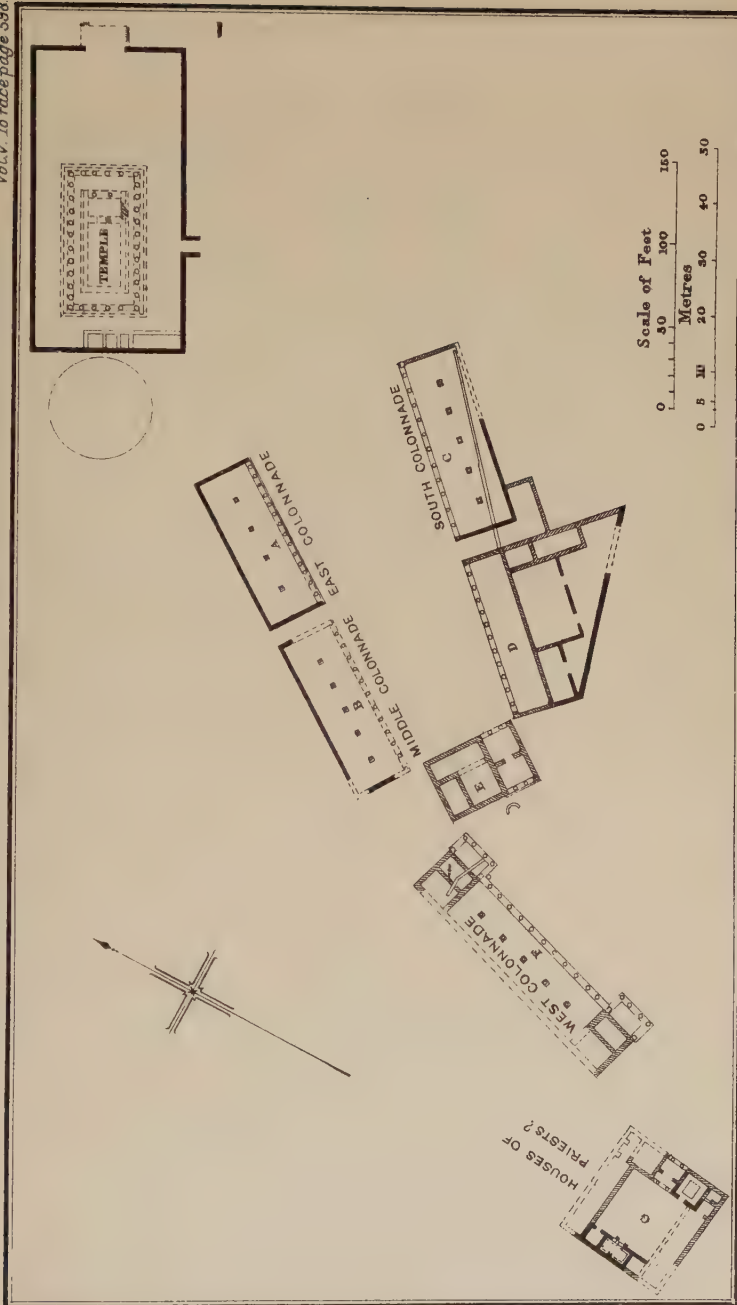
In line with this colonnade to the S.-W. are the far less complete remains of a similar structure, the "Middle Colonnade"; and a third colonnade, the "South Colonnade," similar in plan but of less fine masonry, faces the "E. Colonnade." Immediately to its S.-W. is a building of some size, D, which has the form of a rectangle with a large corner cut off; it comprised a colonnade to N.-W., four inner rooms, and apparently an open court of irregular shape between these rooms and the outer wall. The back walls of the rooms are built of rough polygonal stones. The S.-W. side of the great quadrangle was closed by the building E, which seems to have included a portal leading into the quadrangle, a colonnade opening in the same direction, and two or three rooms lying at the back of the colonnade.

The separate W. colonnade is represented chiefly by foundations and by the stylobate of the N.-E. wing; in front of it are four bases, one at least of which, from an inscription carved on it, supported a statue. It has been suggested that this colonnade was a Council House. *Ca.* 29 paces to its S.-W. are the foundations and walls of G, a quadrangular edifice which is conjectured to have been a dwelling-place for priests and officials; an open court was surrounded by rooms, one of which, with stone benches running round its walls, may have been the meeting-place of a religious society; rectangular rooms with similar stone benches occur at the Argive Heraeum and at Olympia, and the long colonnade in the sanctuary of Amphiaras at Oropus had a like arrangement.

Minor finds, chiefly from the fill of the temple terrace, include Mycenaean and various archaic classes of pottery, and indicate that the precinct may have been constructed in the sixth century B.C., but that a sanctuary of some sort existed here at a much remoter era.

THE SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON IN CALAURIA.

Vol. V. To face page 598.



London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

Stanford's Geogr. Estab. London.

XXXV
SPARTA

XXXV

SPARTA

THIS site has been explored by the British School at Athens, in 1906-1910, 1924-1927 (see its *Annual*, xii.-xvi., xxvi.-xxviii., and the monograph by R. M. Dawkins and others: *The Excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 1929). The statement of Thucydides (i. 10) is in general confirmed, that the city contained no costly sanctuaries or buildings, and that if it were deserted and nothing but the shrines and foundations left, it would seem incredible to posterity that such a city should ever have been so great and powerful. Few of the points mentioned by Pausanias have been identified; notwithstanding, a well-documented picture of the place and its culture has been obtained (Guy Dickins, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xiv. 1908-1909, 66-84); the principal topographical results are presented on our plate, which has been kindly revised by M. A. Woodward, Esq., former Director of the British School.

Ancient Sparta stood upon a broad stretch of fairly level ground, broken by a few low eminences (some 50 ft. high), including the acropolis, on the right bank of the Eurotas, where the river makes a bend to the S.-E. Thus the city was bounded on the N. and E. by the wide gravelly bed of the river. To the S. of these hills is a level stretch of land, *ca.* $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across; on its S. it is terminated by the low broad-backed ridge, running E. and W., on which stands New Sparta. To the S. this is bounded by the river *Magoula*, here flowing from W. to E., to fall into the Eurotas a little below the town. Westwards the plain extends 3 or 4 miles to the foot of the range of Taygetus, which rises abruptly to the height of nearly 8000 ft.

There were settlements during the Bronze Age at two well-known sites in the neighbourhood to the S.-E., Amyclae and the Menelaum; the presence of a few sherds, described as seeming "undoubtedly of Mycenaean fabric," near the *Chalkioikos* Sanctuary (*Ann.* xxviii. 38 f.), suggests that Sparta itself had been occupied in some measure in the second millennium B.C.; but the real importance of the city begins with the coming of the Dorians at the first millennium.

The acropolis walls are late Roman. The circuit of the town-walls of the late third century B.C. has been traced at many points: it was *ca.* 9 ft. thick, a stone base with a superstructure of unbaked brick roofed with tiles. It followed the natural strategic line, which included all the hill of the acropolis, down to the brook on its N., as well as two sharply isolated ridges to its N.-W., and extended as far as the Eurotas on the E., including the shrine of Orthia, while to S. it took in most of the area of modern Sparta.

The brick baths to the W. of the acropolis were built in the Antonine period and twice restored.

Above the theatre are the foundations of the famous sanctuary of Athena *Chalkioikos*; the space between the two has proved rich in finds.

The theatre has been fully investigated; it is one of the largest in Greece, and the present structure dates almost entirely from different centuries of the Roman Empire; the N. wall of the E. *parodos* contains many inscriptions.

At the E. end of the acropolis ridge has been found a Byzantine church with many ancient fragments, and beneath it a deposit of Roman terra-cottas and a few moulds for their manufacture.

The sanctuary of (Artemis) Orthia lies near the bed of the Eurotas: a theatre-like structure of concrete was erected in Roman times for the convenience of spectators at the ceremonies, but the precinct, altar, and temple bear witness to a long succession of earlier periods; the cult began at some time between 1000 and 740 B.C.; *ca.* 600 B.C. the sanctuary was reorganised, the whole area being covered with a deep layer of sand; valuable data were here obtained as to stratification and chronology.

In the vicinity of the "Tomb of Leonidas" (purpose unknown, date Hellenistic) have been found four tombs (at Sparta, burial was permitted within the walls); these lie along the S. limit of the supposed site of the market-place.

Several mosaic pavements in the present town testify to the Roman period.

The museum (*Catalogue* by Tod and Wace, Oxford, 1906) is one of the most important provincial collections in Greece, especially for ceramics, votive slabs, and the details of the Amyclaeon Throne; the most important ivories and bronzes, and the early fifth-century marble statue from the acropolis, are in the Athens Museum.

Bölte, Ehrenberg, Ziehen, and Lippold, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, 2te. Reihe, iii. 1265-1528.



XXXVI
MESSENE

XXXVI

MESSENE

FROM *Kalamata*, the probable site of the ancient Pharae, the road which Pausanias followed runs N.-W. across the fertile plain between hedges of huge fantastically-shaped cactuses and groves of fig-trees, olives and vines. In front of us loom nearer and nearer the twin peaks of Ithome and Eva, rising boldly and abruptly from a single base on the W. side of the plain, about midway between the N. hills and the gulf, and forming the natural citadel, as it were, of the whole country. Eva, the lower of the two, lies to the S. or S.-E. of Ithome, with which it is connected by a ridge or saddle about half-way up the two mountains. Mt. Ithome was one of the most venerable cult-sites of Greece, and portions of its walls may date from the early period of Messenian independence; but the establishment of the city-fortress, to serve as the centre of a liberated and restored Messenia, was the work of Epaminondas and the Thebans, after the Spartan domination had been broken at Leuctra in 371 B.C.: together with Megalopolis and Mantinea it was designed to hold Sparta in check. The city itself lay on the W. side, in the cup formed by the converging slopes of the two mountains. The site may be compared to an immense theatre, of which the back is formed by the saddle in question and the wings by Ithome and Eva. The hamlet of *Mavromati* (see below) lies nearly in the middle. Mt. Eva itself was not included within the fortifications of Messene.

The circuit of the walls is *ca.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Large portions remain and are the finest specimens of Greek fortifications in existence. The best-preserved parts are the N. and N.-W.; the worst-preserved are on the slope on the S. side, where the wall has in some cases disappeared. The celebrated Arcadian Gate is discussed on No. XXXVII. 1. Of the towers the best preserved are the two immediately to the E. of the Arcadian Gate, where the wall begins to ascend the rocky slope of Mt. Ithome. They are *ca.* 21 ft. square, and they project 13 ft. from the curtain or line of wall; their height is *ca.* 31 ft. They are in two stories, the lower of which is entered from the top of the curtain by doors on each side. In the lower storey are four loopholes for missiles, two to the front and one on each side. In the upper there are six small windows, two on each of the sides except the back. In the walls are visible the holes for the rafters which supported the floor of the upper story, and the walls are set back to leave room for the ends of the floor-planks to rest on. The curtain between the towers is 9 ft. thick. Both curtains and towers in this part of the walls are built entirely of large squared blocks, admirably cut and joined. At all the salient angles the towers are not square but form about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a circle, and generally have sally-ports. Whereas at Mantinea only the lower part of the walls seems to have been built of stone, the upper part having apparently been built of unburnt brick, we have Pausanias's word for it that the whole circuit of the walls of Messene was built of stone from top to bottom; for he adds (iv. 31. 5) "and there are towers and battlements on it"; and then he says, "I have not seen the walls of Babylon, or the Memnonian walls at Susa in Persia, nor have I heard of them from people who have seen them; but Ambrosus in Phocis, Byzantium, and Rhodes are fortified in the best style, and yet the walls of Messene are stronger than theirs."

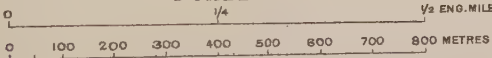
Pausanias next goes to the market-place and the lower town, where many remains of antiquity have always been visible, and in addition to the large structures such as the stadium and theatre, Greek archaeologists in recent years have revealed various details of the city (G. P. Oikonomos, in *Πρακτικά*, 1909, 201-205).

(33. 1) "On the way to the summit of Ithome, where is the acropolis of Messene, there is a spring called Clepsydra." This is generally taken to be the fine spring which issues in several jets from an ancient wall, and, being itself called *Mavromati*, or "Black-Eye," has given its name to the hamlet. When at the market-place, Pausanias had observed a water-basin called Arsinoë; "water flows underground into it from a spring called Clepsydra" (31. 6); hence the market-place was to be looked for somewhat to the S. of the spring, where in fact its remains have been found.

MESSENE.



SCALES



London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd

London: Stanford's Geog. Estab.

XXXVII

(1) GROUND PLAN OF THE ARCADIAN
GATE AT MESSENE

(2) GROUND PLAN OF ONE OF THE
GATES OF MANTINEA

(3) ALEA

GROUND PLAN OF THE ARCADIAN GATE AT MESSENE

FOR Messene, see No. XXXVI. This gate lies in the N. wall, directly under Mt. Ithome. It is a double gate: in other words, an outer gate in the line of the city-wall opens into a spacious circular court with high walls, at the opposite end of which is an inner gate. At the latter may still be seen the enormous stone which formed the lintel; it is broken in two, but measured over $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length. The circular court, *ca.* 62 ft. in diameter, is built in the most magnificent style of masonry: the lowest course is a row of stones, each *ca.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long and half as much high; the next course has stones of equal length and half the height, the joints of which are exactly over the centre of each stone in the lower course; the other courses are not quite so regular, but the stones are joined and finished with the same wonderful accuracy; their surface is given a striated finish. To both right and left of the outer gateway (16 ft. 10 in. wide), on its inner side, is a semi-circular niche, doubtless for a statue; over the left-hand one is an inscription (*I. G. V. i.* 1460), probably referring to the restoration of the statue in Roman times. The outer gate is flanked on the exterior by two square towers. From the inner gate a paved road leads inwards uphill for 40 paces; it is marked lengthwise with the ruts of chariot-wheels and cross-wise with cuts which afforded foothold for the horses.

XXXVII (2)

GROUND PLAN OF ONE OF THE GATES OF MANTINEA

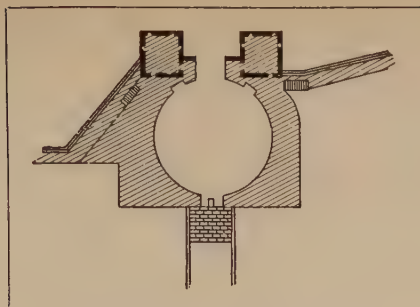
EIGHT of the gates can still be traced, and it seems probable that there were two more. Their plan differs somewhat in detail, but the object in all of them was to expose an attacking enemy to cross fire. At all except one, the circuit-wall overlaps, so that the approach is through a passage, from both sides of which the assailant could be attacked by the defenders; and all these gates open in such a direction that an enemy attacking the gate would have his right or unshielded side exposed to the inner wall. The entrance to each gate was defended by two towers, one on each side; some are round, other square, one at least is pentagonal. The gate on the N.-W., however, leading to Clitor, is constructed on a different plan: a straight entrance, an outer half-moon court defended by round towers, and an inner rectangular court.

XXXVII (3)

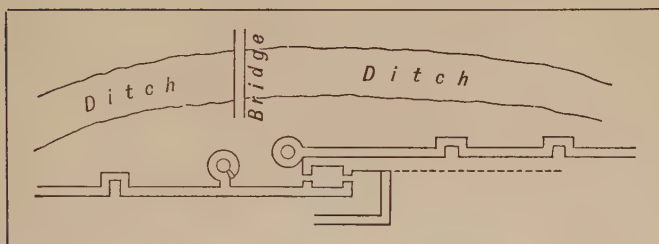
ALEA

THE hill of Alea is connected by a saddle on the N. with the higher mountains, and from here it slopes gradually S. in the form of a ridge till it subsides into the plain; the ridge falls away steeply on the E. and W.; at its highest point, on the N., it may be some 600 ft. above the plain. The city walls are well preserved on the E. and W. sides of the ridge. The one on the E. side does not follow the line of the ridge southward but strikes down the steep slope till it reaches the plain. The terminations of these two lines of wall in the plain must have been formerly united by a third wall, but no remains of it exist. The angle at the top has been cut off by two cross-walls to form an irregularly quadrangular acropolis. Both sets of walls are well preserved. They are built of grey limestone in the polygonal style. The masonry is solid and substantial but rather rough. Square towers project at intervals, but are not bonded with the curtain. The thickness of the walls, where both faces are preserved, is *ca.* 10 ft.; and the greatest height preserved *ca.* 16 ft. One of the largest blocks is 9 ft. long by 4 ft. high. The two inner walls are built of very massive polygonal blocks. The present view is that these fortifications appear to date from the time of the Achaian League. The view from the hill embraces the valleys on both sides, with high barren mountains rising from them and bounding the horizon in all directions.

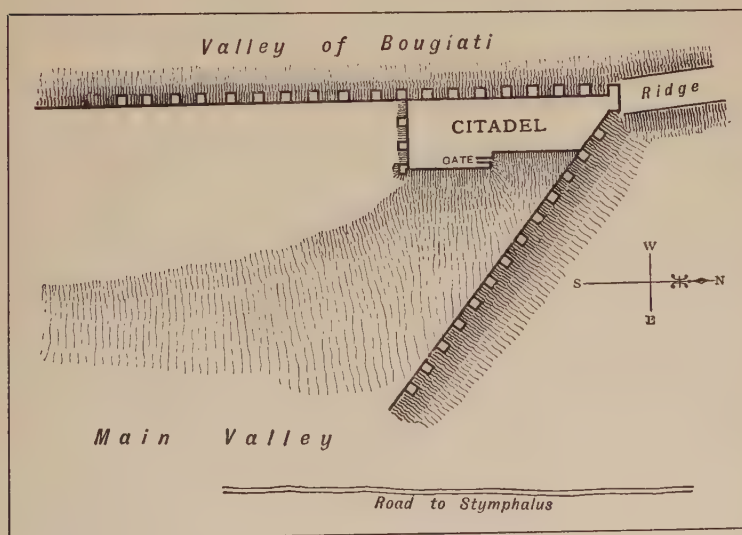
Lattermann, in *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xxix. (1914), *Anzeiger*, 105.



ARCADIAN GATE AT MESSENE



ONE OF THE GATES OF MANTINEA



ALEA

XXXVIII
PYLUS AND SPHACTERIA

XXXVIII

PYLUS AND SPHACTERIA

THE remote and desolate island of Sphacteria is indeed, as Pausanias observed (iv. 36. 4), an example of how "human fortunes can confer renown on places previously unknown"; the tale of the military operations which lasted seventy-two days in the year 425 B.C. is told by Thucydides (iv. 2-40). Of better omen, however, for the fortunes of Greece was the battle that was fought in the bay of *Navarino* on 20th October, 1827 A.D. Naturally, the S.-W. corner of the Peloponnesus would become the theatre of decisive operations between powers contesting the control of Greek waters.

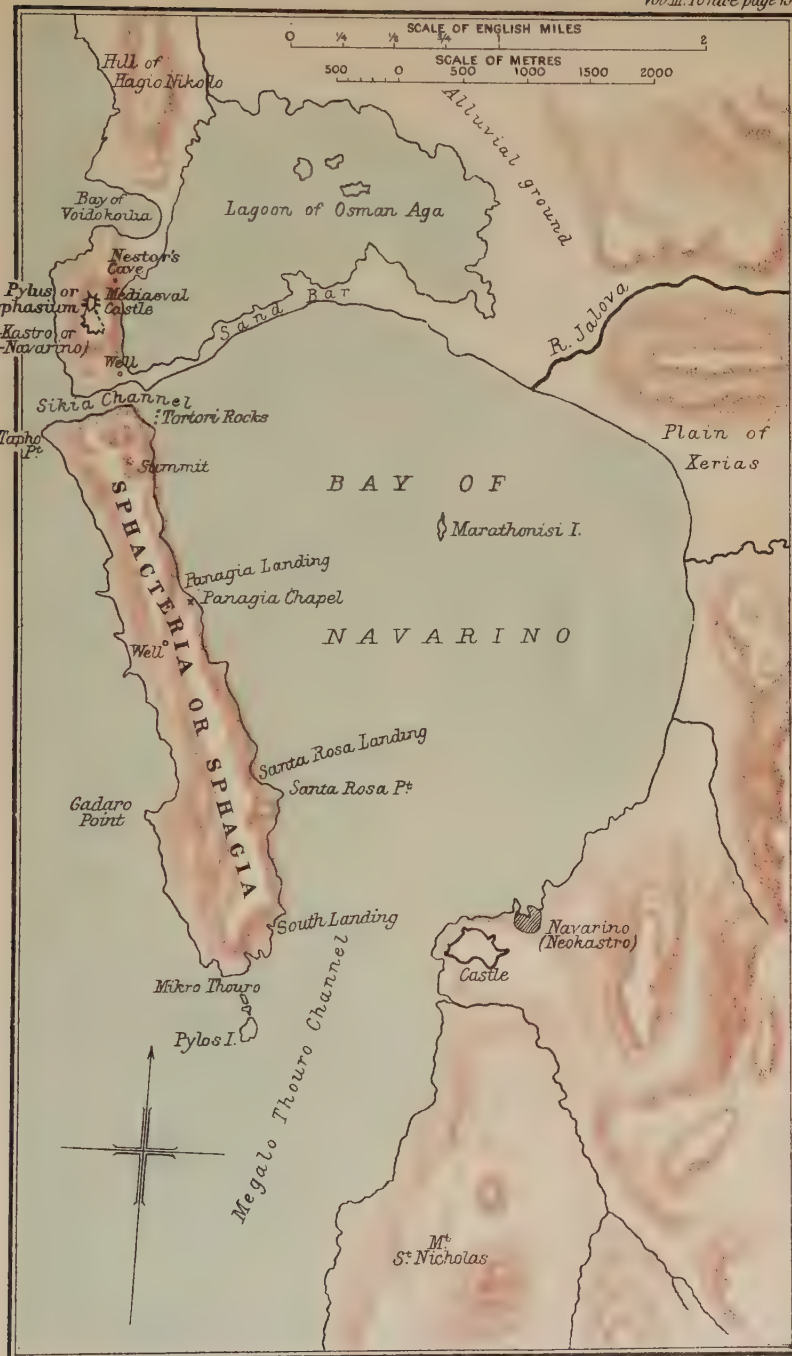
Coryphasium is the rocky promontory at the N. end of the bay of *Navarino*. It is connected with the mainland on the E. only by two narrow strips of land enclosing a lagoon; on the S. side it is separated by a narrow channel (132 yards wide at its narrowest point, and only *ca.* 2 ft. deep at the E. end, where it is *ca.* 250 yards across) from the Island of Sphagia or Sphacteria. This island extends S. for *ca.* 2½ miles, in front of the bay of *Navarino*. Coryphasium itself forms a rough plateau, rising from S. to N.; the summit (450 ft. high) is at the N. extremity; on the E., towards the lagoon, it is a precipice; towards the sea it slopes more gradually, especially at the S.-W. corner, where the Athenians repelled the Spartans' attempt to land. Remains of ancient buildings are found near the middle of the S. wall of the Venetian castle which crowns the promontory, and also on the N.-E. side; some of these are fragments of walls built in the regular polygonal style; others are of rough Cyclopean masonry; there is a large piece of a Cyclopean wall on the W. side, constructed of great rough blocks, the interstices being filled with smaller stones. Ancient cisterns and staircases hewn in the rock may also be seen.

It appears that the lagoon of *Osman Aga* is gradually being sanded up, as is also the channel which separates Coryphasium from the island of Sphacteria; it seems probable that the sand-bank which now separates the lagoon from the bay of *Navarino* did not exist in antiquity—it was all the bay of Pylus.

For Pausanias the promontory of Coryphasium was the site not only of the Pylus of historical times but of the Homeric Pylus, the abode of Nestor. Strabo, however (viii. 3. 22-29), had argued at some length that the Homeric Pylus lay in Triphylia, to the N. of the Neda; he is doubtless following a Hellenistic tradition; and the controversy is not yet closed. The discovery at mod. *Kakovatos* in Triphylia of a tholos tomb with Bronze Age objects (Sir Arthur Evans, in *J. H. S.* xlv. (1925), 43-46) has put the question in a new light, and archaeologists are now more ready than they were thirty years ago to place the Pylus of Nestor in the region which Strabo claimed for it, and even, by convention, to associate the tomb at *Kakovatos* with the Homeric hero. There are other instances on the map of Greece where it is either certain or probable that with a shifting of population between the second and the first millennia B.C. there has been a transference of place-names. There may even have been (leaving aside the Pylus in Hollow Elis) a third Pylus, intermediate in both time and place between the other two: for according to Strabo (viii. 4. 2) the Messenian Pylus lay originally inland, at the foot of Mt. Aegaleum, and it was only after the destruction of this inland city that some of the people moved to Coryphasium and settled there.

In any case, in Pausanias's day on Coryphasium there were pointed out to visitors the house of Nestor, his tomb, and "a cave, in which they say that the cows of Nestor and of Neleus before him were stalled." This cave may still be seen; it is a spacious high-roofed stalactite cavern on the N. slope of the promontory; this was the cave where in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* the young god is said to have stowed away the stolen cattle of Apollo.

Space forbids a discussion of the campaign of Sphacteria, except to repeat Leake's words, that "an inspection of the island illustrates the description of Thucydides in the most satisfactory manner," except for his under-estimating the width of the two channels; "the level and source of water in the middle where the Lacedaemonians encamped—the summit at the N. end to which they retired—the landing places on the W. side, to which the Helots brought provisions, are all perfectly recognisable."



XXXIX
OLYMPIA

XXXIX

OLYMPIA

THE sacred precinct or Altis of the classical period appears to have formed a quadrilateral of *ca.* 750 ft. long from E. to W., by 570 ft. broad from N. to S. Its boundary on the N. is not known, but probably it was formed by Mt. Cronius. To W., S., and E. it was bounded by a wall, the greater part of which can still be traced. On the E. it extends behind the Echo Colonnade, and serves at the same time as the supporting-wall of the stadium. On the W., remains of two walls can be seen extending parallel to, and within a short distance of each other, for a long way. The inner of these dates from the Greek period, probably the age of Alexander; the outer is shown by the presence of re-used blocks, tiles, mortar and the masonry now called *opus incertum* to be of Roman date. The S. wall is also Roman. Originally, the S. boundary-wall seems to have been further to the N., on the line of the S. terrace wall. Thus we learn that in Roman times the Altis was enlarged on the S.; this may have been the work of Nero, who converted the building at the S.-E. corner of the Altis into a palace. The older wall appears in many places to have been only a low enclosure, not a high boundary-wall. No trace of a gateway older than the Roman period has been found; the existing gateways are all of Roman construction. It appears that the grand gateway at the S.-E. corner was built by Nero as a new processional entrance, but that after his death the Eleans reverted to the older usage of introducing processions by the S.-W. gate.

The position of an early sacred grove may be demarked by the water channels enclosing the Pelopium and the Zeus Temple with the space to S. and S.-E. Pre-historic remains (rubble foundations of apsidal huts; stone implements; rude pottery) have been found to the E. of the Heraeum.

The indications on the plan are to be supplemented as follows: at the N.-W. corner of the plan, a long stretch of the wall of the Cladeus was exposed by the violent freshets of the winter of 1928-1929. The treasures are identified by their numbers thus: I. Sicyonians. II, III, not mentioned by Pausanias. IV. Syracusans. V. Epidamnians. VI. Sybarites. VII. Byzantines. VIII. Cyrenaecans. IX. Selinuntines. X. Metapontines. XI. Megarians. XII. Geloans (the last originally faced E.; the S. porch is an addition). To the W. of No. I are one other treasury with its altar, and a corner of still another, which were concealed and partially destroyed when the Exedra of Herodes Atticus was built. The determination of the original function of the S.-W. group of buildings (Heroum, Theocoleon, Byzantine Church, etc.) has been the subject of discussion; the theory of A. Schwarzstein (*Eine Gebäudegruppe in Olympia*, Strassburg, 1909) appears convincing, that in the sixth and following centuries B.C. the gymnasium with its appurtenances, including baths, stood here; in later times fundamental modifications were introduced. The long narrow structure to the S. of this group, with thin, poorly-built walls, is then to be identified as the studio of Phidias.

The Zeus Temple is discussed at No. XL; the Hera Temple at No. XLI; the Hippodrome at No. XLII. 1.

E. N. Gardiner, *Olympia, Its History and Remains*, Oxford, 1925.



after Dörpfeld.

Walker & Boulton.

XL

THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA:
GROUND PLAN RESTORED

THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA: GROUND PLAN RESTORED

EVIDENCE as to date has been obtained by an examination of monuments under and above the terrace fill; the former are dated not much earlier than 480 B.C., and the latter between 468 and 452. Again, the Lacedaemonians hung on the E. gable a golden shield in commemoration of the victory at Tanagra, 457 B.C. Therefore the temple was built between 480 and 452 B.C.

This, the most important of all the buildings at Olympia, stands in the S.-W. corner of the precinct: the rest of the precinct was already occupied by buildings and altars; whether an older temple stood on the site is not known, although an attempt has been made to demonstrate this (Lehmann-Hartleben, in *Jahrb. des Inst.*, xxxviii.-xxxix. (1923-1924), 37-48). The ground here slopes towards the S.; it was necessary to raise it in order to give the temple its commanding position. The foundations are sunk more than 1 metre deep in the original soil; they rise to an average height of *ca.* 3 metres above the original level of the ground; round about the temple an artificial mound was raised so as to hide the foundations; these latter consist of separate units to support the upper walls and the rows of columns.

The temple was of very large proportions, Doric, hexastyle, and consisted of local limestone, containing many fossil shells; this inferior material was coated with stucco. The sculptured portions—pediments; 2×6 metopes over the spaces between the *antae*; cornice, and roof-tiles,—are of Parian marble except where Pentelic was used in restoration; in the *cella*, as adapted to contain Phidias's statue, dark Eleusinian stone and Pentelic marble are used; the ceilings were of wood.

Pausanias devotes to this building and its cult-statue the fullest description of a Greek temple and the representation of its divinity which any ancient author has transmitted to us. His account is confirmed by the remains; the sculptured pediments, metopes and other details are installed in the local museum.

The exterior had the adornment of colour, for traces have been detected on many of the architectural members—red on the rings of the capitals, on the upper part of the architrave, etc., and blue on the triglyphs, on the *guttae* of the architrave, etc.; some painted decorations in the form of leaves, etc., have been traced on the *geison* and *sima*.

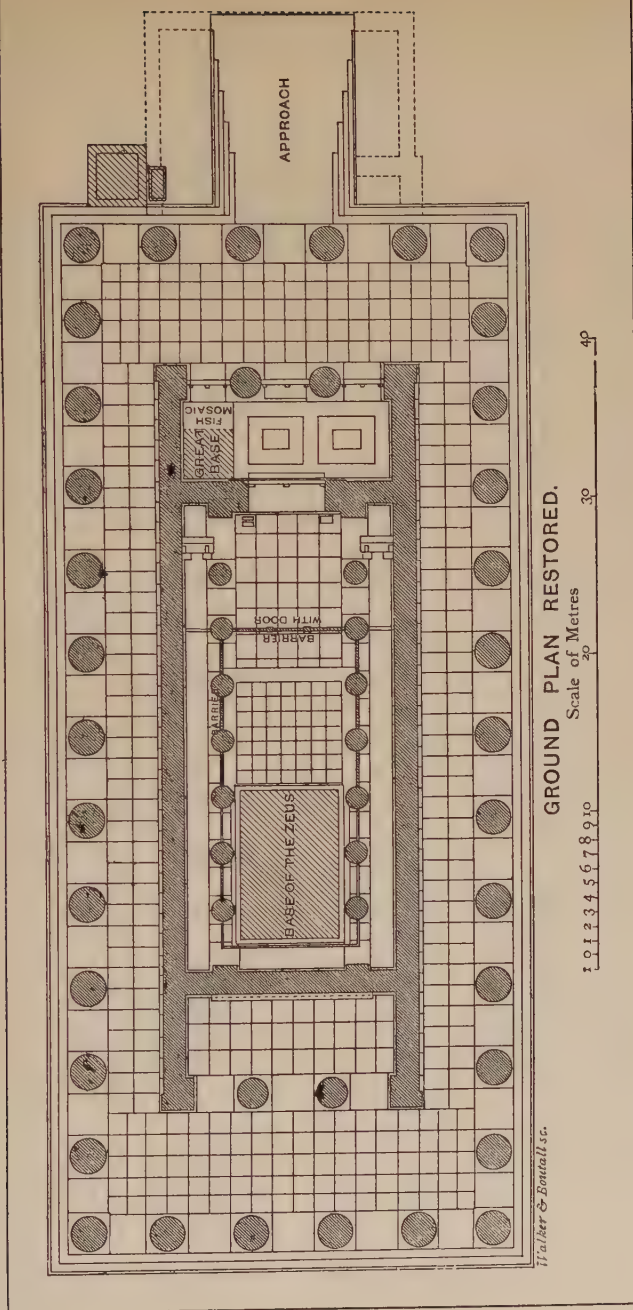
A great ramp formed the principal, Eastern, approach; it was enlarged on both sides in Roman times. On the exterior metopes on the E. front and at the E. end of the S. side hung the twenty-one gilded shields dedicated by Mummius; and the E. part of the S. stylobate has the cuttings for the supports of the feet of a number of bronze statues; it was this part of the temple which was most in view as processions or individuals followed the usual route from W. to E. and then to N. before entering the temple from the E.

The colonnade was paved with large blocks of limestone, on which was laid good Greek cement incorporating river pebbles; in Roman times this was concealed beneath a rich pavement of various coloured stones including alabaster.

The bronze doors mentioned by Pausanias have left their traces on the threshold of the temple; the floor of the fore-temple contains the remains of a Greek river-pebble mosaic in two panels representing sea creatures within borders of palmettes and meandering lines; there was a third smaller panel in front of the statue-base to N.; all these were concealed in Roman times by a rich pavement like that of the peristasis, and are now covered up for protection; of the great doors which led into the *cella* very few traces survive on the threshold.

Down the length of the *cella* were two double-storied rows of Doric columns; the galleries were reached by two winding stairways next to the entrance. Of the three divisions of the *cella*, from front to back, the first, with regular limestone slab pavement, was accessible to worshippers, the second, paved with Eleusinian stone, and the third, occupied by the base of the statue, were screened off by a barrier; this arrangement was not the original one.

Restoration by J. K. Smith, in *Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, iv. (1924), 153-168, pls. 58-62.



GROUND PLAN RESTORED.

TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA

XLI

THE TEMPLE OF HERA AT OLYMPIA

THE TEMPLE OF HERA AT OLYMPIA

THIS is one of the earliest purely Greek temples known to us in a state of relative completeness; and its study throws much light on the early history of Greek architecture. It stands at the foot of Mt. Cronius, on the N. side of the Altis. At this point the ground sloped away to the S. and W., and in order to obtain a level surface it was necessary to cut away part of the foot of the hill and to pile up the soil so obtained further to the S. The foot of the hill was then supported by a wall rising in steps. In consequence of the yielding nature of the soil, the temple has sunk on the S. and W. Recent excavations in and about the foundations have shown that the edifice in its present form is due to a rebuilding in the seventh century B.C.—its terra-cotta revetment is contemporary with fully-developed Proto-Corinthian ceramics; there were two earlier structures occupying the same space, at lower levels, but the earlier of these had no enclosing colonnade, and in the second the columns were of wood (E. Douglas Van Buren, *Gr. Fict. Rev.*, pp. 49 f.).

We are here concerned, however, with the structure which is preserved. Its material is a shell-conglomerate. It had only a single step: the course below is merely part of the foundations. At a later time, with the change in the level of the ground about the temple, more steps were added where required.

The order is Doric; the columns differ in shape, size and kind of stone; the variations in the capitals are especially obvious. Pausanias mentions that in his time one of the two columns in the *opisthodomos* was of oak-wood. The usual explanation is the one proposed by Dr. Dörpfeld, that original wooden columns were gradually replaced by stone ones, executed in the style current at the time. The use of stone columns here had begun as early as the sixth or even seventh century B.C., for some of the capitals are amongst the most archaic specimens of Doric architecture known. It is not, however, necessary to assume in all cases that they replaced wooden ones, nor that such previously existing wooden columns had already stood in position until they had deteriorated to such an extent as to require replacement; there is the example of the original marble columns in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, inscribed as the dedication of King Croesus, to attest the practice of dedicating individual columns.

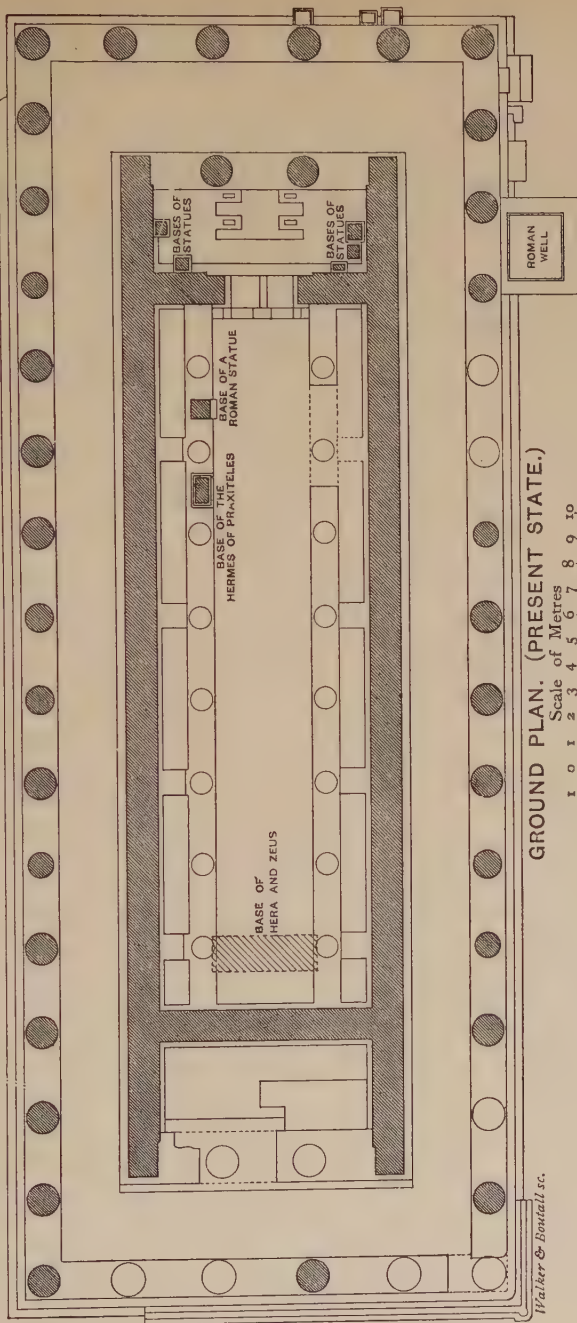
Of the entablature not a trace was discovered; it is highly probable that down to the destruction of the temple it remained of wood. This inference is confirmed by the unusually great distance between the columns. The reduction in the intercolumnar space at all the corners implies that there was already a frieze of triglyphs and metopes, requiring such an adjustment to allow the end triglyphs to come at the very corners.

The roof had a complete system of terra-cotta tiles, including a great disc *akroterion* and semicircular antefixes.

The lower part of the *cella* walls, of squared blocks, is remarkably well preserved. On this socle, *ca.* 3 ft. high, the excavators found a thin Byzantine wall of stone and lime incorporating classical fragments. The upper part must originally have been of some other material; both wood and baked brick are excluded; unburnt or sun-dried brick is the necessary conclusion. The interior of the temple was found to be covered in many places by a layer of greenish clay, *ca.* 3 ft. thick, into which the Hermes of Praxiteles had fallen, and over which the Byzantines erected their buildings; this doubtless is due to the disintegration of the unburnt bricks, when exposed to moisture. Thus is explained the unusual thickness (1.18 metres) of the walls, and the cuttings at the *antae* and doors, indicating a sheathing of planks at these points.

The long, narrow *cella* had eight columns on each side, to support the roof-beams; they align with the exterior columns. At an earlier time, four short cross-walls projected so as to meet every second column; these were eliminated, but their foundations remain, together with traces on the walls; compare the cross-walls at Bassae, No. XLVIII.

The friable sandstone of the base of the cult-statue recurs in the head of that statue itself (in the museum), and in other early monuments such as treasuries.



TEMPLE OF HERA AT OLYMPIA

XLII

(1) HIPPODROME AT OLYMPIA

(2) MARKET-PLACE AT ELIS: PLAN OF
AUSTRIAN EXCAVATIONS TO 1912

HIPPODROME AT OLYMPIA

PAUSANIAS describes this structure and its arrangements at some length (vi. 20.10-21.1): it lay beyond the stadium, in a corner of the valley of the Alpheus; one side of it consisted of a bank of earth and the other was a low hill. No remains have been found.

Pausanias's description of the hippodrome, and especially of the ingenious mechanism, resembling the prow of a ship, for starting the chariot-races and horse-races, is explained by this ground plan, based on that drawn by Hirt from Pausanias's text. *aa* is the Colonnade of Agnaptus, *b* the altar of unburnt brick set up in the middle of the "prow," *c* "the tip of the beak" where the bronze dolphin stood, *dd* are the turning-posts, on one of which stood statues of Pelops and Hippodamia, and *e* is the goal, with the seats of the umpires beside it. The round altar of Taraxippus, the terror of the horses, seems to have stood somewhere near the turning-point—perhaps it was here that the horses caught sight of their shadows; it was the confusion of this turn which especially taxed the skill of the drivers and lent zest to the competition.

XLII (2)

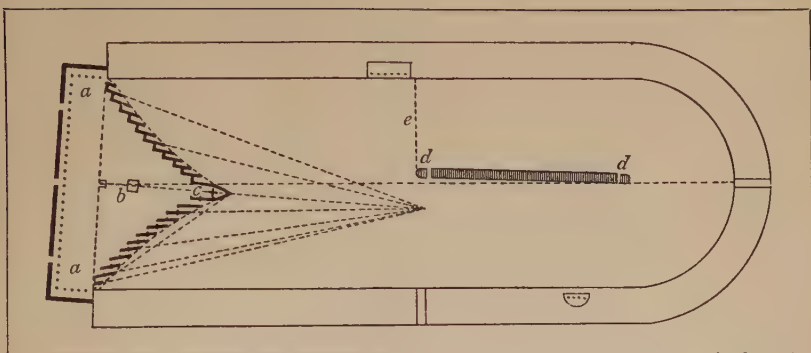
MARKET-PLACE AT ELIS: PLAN OF AUSTRIAN EXCAVATIONS
TO 1912

THIS spot has intimate associations with the Olympia festivals. Its identification is confirmed by the discovery, to its N.-E., of the theatre, which Pausanias describes as situated between the market-place and the stream Menius. Pausanias's account (vi. 24) is so precise as to cause unusual interest to attach to the Austrian excavations, the plan of which is here reproduced, with the courteous permission of the publishers, from *Österr. Jahreshfte*, xvi. (1913), *Beiblatt* 145. The several buildings have unfortunately suffered much from depredations, owing to the slight depth of earth with which they were covered; they are as follows: A. So-called Hall of Pillars. B. So-called West Hall. C. Temple-shaped Building, under the *ἐπαρχικὸς δρόμος*. D. So-called North Building. E₁, E₂, Tile drains. F. Tile pavement. G. Rubble foundation of uncertain purpose. H. Remains of a great cistern. J. Ramp. K. Late Baths. X-X'. *ἐπαρχικὸς δρόμος*.

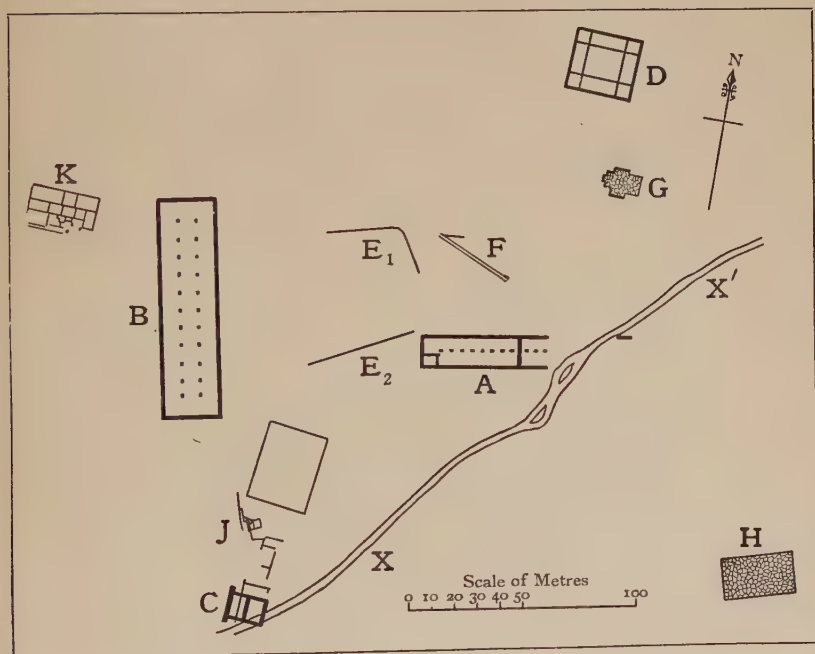
See *Österr. Jahresh.* xiv. (1911), *Beibl.* 97-116; xvi. (1913), *Beibl.* 145-152; xviii. (1915), *Beibl.* 61-76; *Jahrb. des Inst.* xxix. (1914), *Anz.* 137-140; 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, i. 1915, app. 69-72.

The conclusion of the Austrian excavators is that although there is no doubt that these and several other buildings lie on the market-place or in its immediate vicinity, still it does not appear possible to identify any of them on the basis of Pausanias's description and to obtain a definite conception of the boundaries and the disposition of the market-place.

Pausanias says: "The market-place of Elis is not constructed after the fashion which prevails in Ionia and in the Greek cities which border on Ionia. It is built in the older style, with separate colonnades and streets between them." In other words, at Elis, as apparently at Athens, Sicyon and elsewhere, the market-place was not laid out in accordance with a simple plan of one architect, but rather was the result of a gradual growth, surrounded by buildings of various sorts and styles, not always with uniform lines, so that the whole area can hardly have had the form of a regular rectangle.



HIPPODROME AT OLYMPIA



MARKET-PLACE AT ELIS

XLIII

GROUND PLAN OF THEATRE AND
MARKET-PLACE OF MANTINEA

GROUND PLAN OF THEATRE AND MARKET-PLACE OF MANTINEA

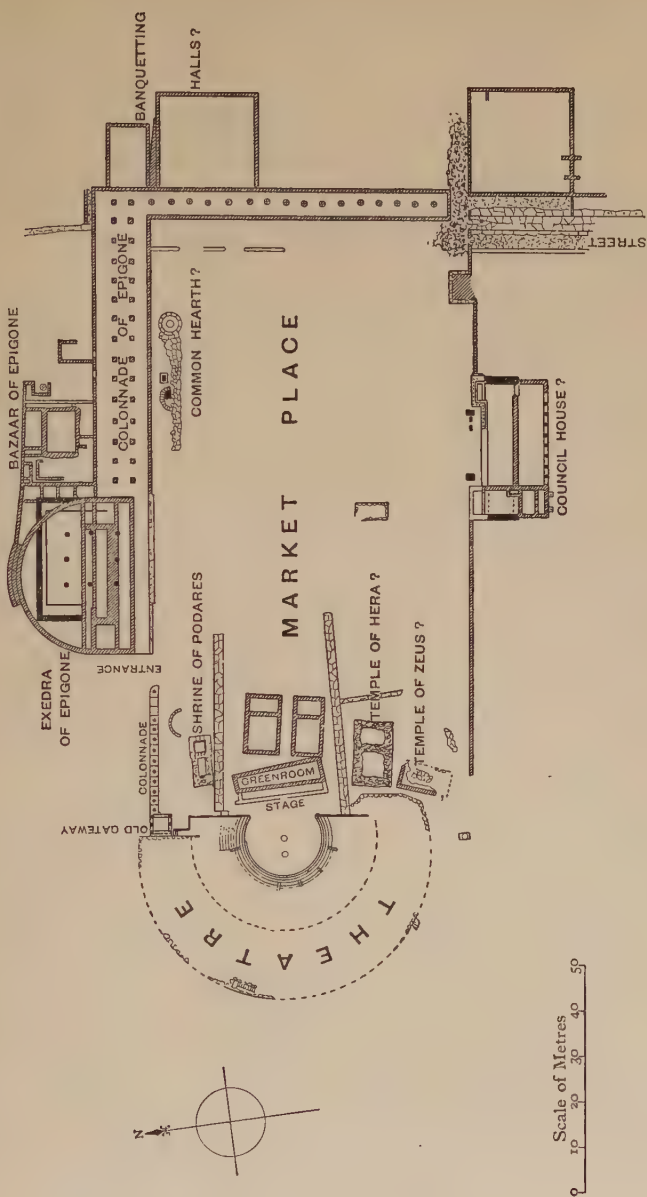
THIS area was cleared by the French in their excavations of 1887-1888. The market-place is a large rectangular space, bounded on the W. by the theatre and on the N. and E. by colonnades which, with the exception of the one next the theatre, appear to be of Roman date. Inscriptions found in the N. colonnade and dating, apparently, from the early first century A.D. (*I. G. V. ii. 268*) speak of great reconstructions effected in the market-place by one Euphrosynus, son of Titus, and by his wife Epigone, daughter of Artemon; they restored temples, and built banquetting-halls and treasuries for societies. Epigone further erected a bazaar surrounded by workshops, an *exedra* or semicircular hall, and a marble colonnade.

As the theatre was built on a dead flat, the back had to be supported artificially this was done by means of a wall of massive polygonal blocks forming rather more than a semicircle. The wings are not systematically placed with regard to each other, nor is the stage symmetrical with the rest of the theatre. Outside staircases led up to the seats from the wings and from the W. and S.-W. On the upper course of the front wall of the stage are the holes and traces of the columns, apparently sixteen in number, which decorated the front of the stage; in the middle of the front wall is a doorway. The stage-walls are built of rough blocks, fitted with earth and mortar. They are of Roman date, and so apparently is the rest of the theatre, except the supporting-wall and the outside W. staircase, the remains of which are built of fine polygonal masonry.

At the W. end of the N. side of the market-place, close to the N. wing of the theatre, is a small paved rectangle with traces of columns; it seems to have been originally a portal to the market-place, but to have been blocked up and rendered useless by the construction of the theatre. To the E. of this portal extended a colonnade, the front line of which was a pavement of white limestone with a row of nine round holes in which no doubt Doric columns were set; its massive foundations are a proof of its antiquity, and it may be a remnant of the original market-place. In front of it are the foundations of a semicircular structure, either the pedestal of a group of statuary or a seat. To the E. of this colonnade, still on the N. side of the market-place, was an entrance, beyond which another line of colonnades extended E. At the back of the first one was constructed an edifice, perhaps in two stories, somewhat resembling the *Exedra* of Herodes Atticus at Olympia: an oblong portion in front, and a semicircular portion behind; this may have been the *exedra* of Epigone (see above). Within it were found the remains of an earlier edifice which must have been pulled down to make room for it: apparently a square court with rows of Doric columns of conglomerate coated with stucco, possibly an old bazaar which was replaced by Epigone's. To the E. again is another colonnade, the columns and roof of which were probably of wood, and behind it a number of badly-built rooms surrounding a small paved rectangular court, probably the bazaar of Epigone itself; its entrance was to the E.

The colonnade which bounds the E. side of the market-place may have been the marble colonnade erected by Epigone; the two halls of rubble and brick, abutting on its back, at the N.-E., may be the banquetting-halls of the inscription. At the S.-E. corner of the market-place a street entered it from the S., skirting on its right a long colonnade, at the back of which is a large building of bricks and slight materials, divided into a number of compartments. Just to the W. of the point where the street enters the market-place, a small rectangular structure projects into the market-place; the carefully-wrought marble basement supported a three-sided colonnade. The building in the middle of the S. side of the market-place is in its main portion of good Greek work; the Ionic colonnade on its S. side is apparently a later addition; the building may be the Council House.

G. Fougères, *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale*, Paris, 1898 (fasc. 78 of *Bibl. des Éc. Fr. d'Athènes et de Rome*).



THEATRE AND MARKET-PLACE OF MANTINEA

Walker & Bonnell sc.

XLIV
MEGALOPOLIS

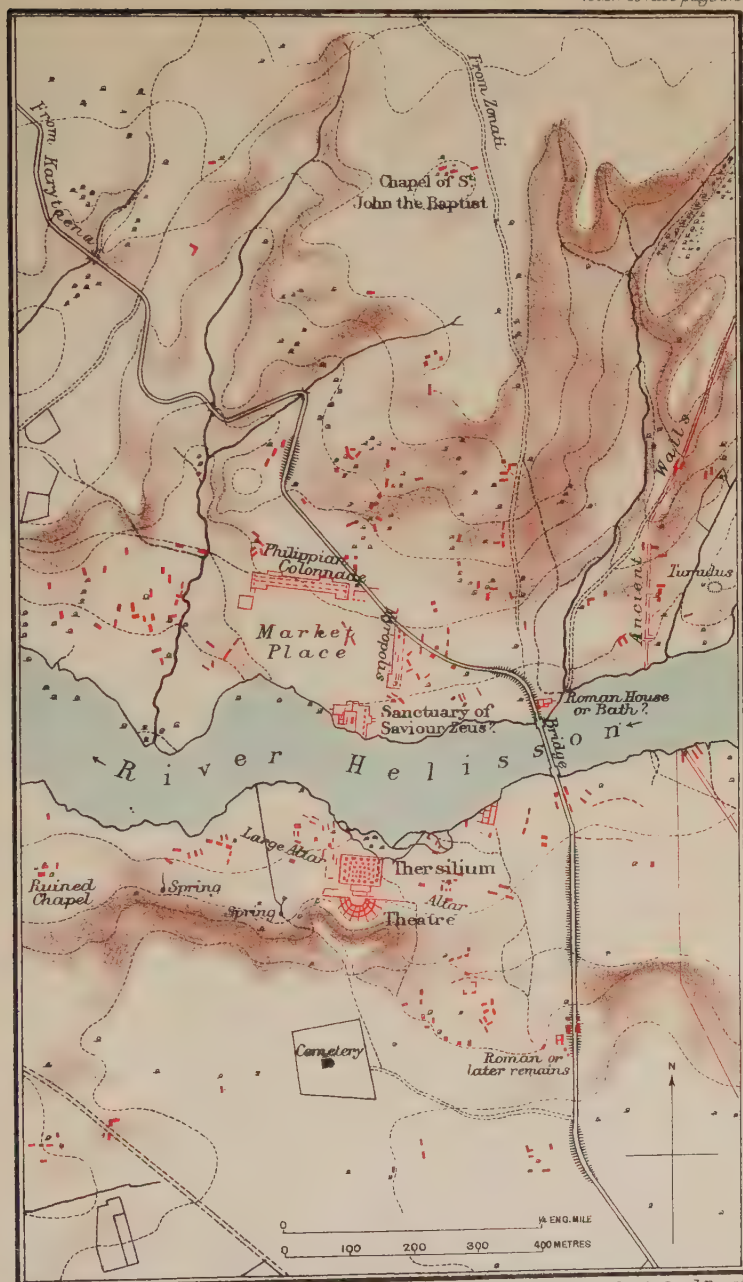
XLIV MEGALOPOLIS

THIS city was founded probably in the year 370 B.C.; for the circumstances, see on Messene (No. XXXVI).

Megalopolis occupied broken ground on both sides of the Helisson, *ca.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles E. of the point where that stream flows into the Alpheus. The Helisson flows from E. to W., and divided the city into two parts which seem to have been approximately equal. Its bed is very broad and gravelly; except in time of flood, the stream, when it is not entirely dried up, flows along it in several small channels. A little way from its banks the ground rises into low hillocks, plateaus and ridges broken and divided by small valleys or hollows through which, in rainy weather, tiny rivulets flow to join the Helisson. Thus the site of Megalopolis is far from being a dead flat; and the engineers who constructed the fortifications took advantage of the natural defences offered by the inequalities of the ground. For example, the N. wall ran along the top of the steep slope which separates the high tableland N. of the Helisson from the valley of the little river Aminius and its tributary streams; this slope is a very steep one, and has in places a fall of as much as 120 ft. Only detached fragments of the city walls remain, but they suffice to indicate the whole circuit with tolerable certainty. The circumference was *ca.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the length of the city from N. to S. was *ca.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles; its breadth along the bed of the Helisson, *ca.* $\frac{3}{4}$ mile; the name Megalopolis ("great city") was not misapplied.

The fortifications appear to have been formed of two parallel walls, distant from each other about 3 ft. and connected by bonds or cross-pieces, the interval between the two walls being filled up with earth and small stones; the total thickness of the fortification wall thus formed varies from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. At some points there was a third component wall outside the other two, to which it was likewise united by bonds, the interval between it and them being similarly filled up with rubble and earth; the total thickness of the fortification thus formed was nearly 16 ft. The best-preserved example of this type is to be seen on high ground close to the village of *Kasidochori*, on the N. side of the Helisson. Square and semicircular towers appear to have projected at intervals from the city wall. In regard to the style of masonry, the existing remains fall into two groups: on the W. and S. sides, and at two points on the E. side, what we may consider the original city walls, with their large stones roughly hewn into shape; and on the N. and N.-E. sides, what is best understood as the rebuilding after 222 B.C., with stones entirely unhewn. The upper part of the walls of both periods was probably constructed of sun-dried bricks; for if the walls had been entirely built of stone, it is difficult to account for their almost total disappearance; and we have good reason for believing that the upper portions of the walls of Greek cities were often built of this material.

The two important groups of public edifices at the centre of the city, the market-place to the N. of the Helisson and the Thersilium and theatre to its S., are discussed at Nos. XLV. 1 and XLVI respectively.



Ancient Remains in Red.

London, Stanford's Geog. Estab.

London: Macmillan & Co. L^{td}.

XLV

(1) MARKET-PLACE OF MEGALOPOLIS

(CONJECTURAL RESTORATION BY E. CURTIUS)

(2) PLAN OF RUINS NEAR DRITSA

(THE ANCIENT HELEON?)

MARKET-PLACE OF MEGALOPOLIS

(Conjectural Restoration by E. Curtius)

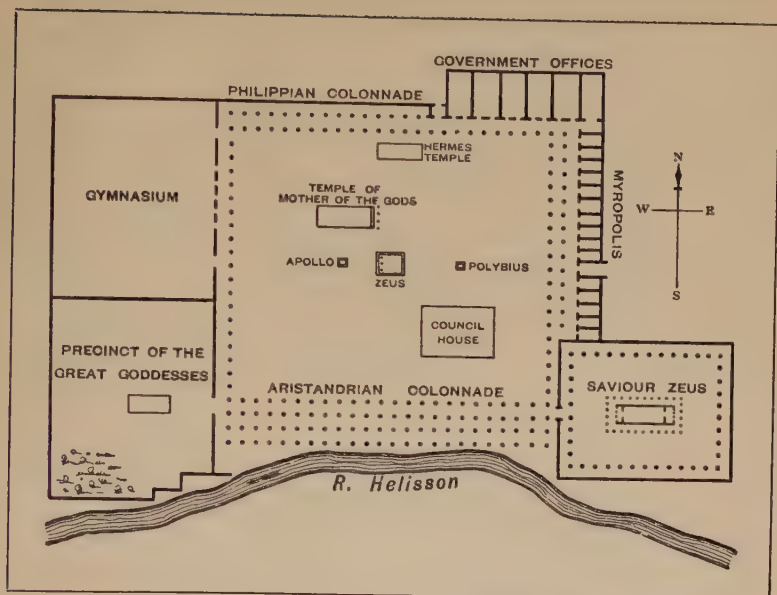
THIS plan had been made by Ernst Curtius on the basis of Pausanias's description (viii. 30, 31); the results of the British School's excavations of 1890-1891, which are indicated on a small scale on the plan of Megalopolis (No. XLIV), have shown both the modern plan and the ancient description to be substantially correct, for they have disclosed remains which are to be identified with the Philipian Colonnade (*ca.* 200 yards N. of the river bank; 510 ft. in length) and the sanctuary of Saviour Zeus (a rectangle, *ca.* 175 ft. from E. to W. and 154 ft. from N. to S.); other monuments found were a double row of columns—a late structure—running S. at a right angle from the W. end of the Philipian Colonnade; two late edifices to its S.-W., perhaps belonging to the gymnasium mentioned by Pausanias; the stylobate of a colonnade, *ca.* 300 ft. long, bounding the market-place on the E.—perhaps the *Myropolis* of Pausanias; and in the interior of the market-place the remains of an altar (one of those sacred to Lycaean Zeus mentioned by Pausanias?) and apparently an *exedra*. To-day, almost forty years after the British excavations, the aspect of this civic centre resembles that of many Greek cities in the time of Pausanias himself: grain is growing among the half-concealed remains which the excavator's spade had restored for a time to the view of man.

XLV (2)

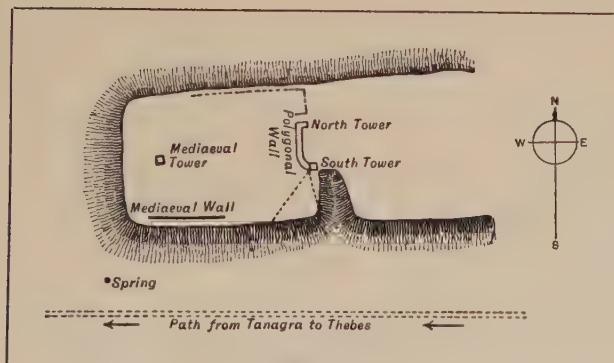
PLAN OF RUINS NEAR DRITSA (THE ANCIENT HELEON?)

THESE remains of an ancient fortress are situated on a rocky plateau *ca.* 10 minutes walk to the W. of the village of *Dritsa* (*Andritsa*) in Boeotia; the high road from Thebes to Chalcis runs *ca.* two miles to the N.; the path from Thebes to Tanagra passes by the S. foot of the plateau, close to the ruins. The steep edges of the plateau may average 50-60 ft. high; at the highest point, close to its W. end, are the ruins of a mediaeval tower. The view in the direction of Thebes is closed by Parnassus on the W.; Helicon is seen on the S.-W., and Ptous appears beyond Hypatus on the N.-W.

The fortress, perhaps the acropolis of the town, occupied only the W. portion of the plateau; hence its E. end, situated at a point where there was a deep indentation on the S. side of the plateau, was defended by a massive wall; this is well preserved, and is one of the finest specimens of ancient masonry to be seen in Greece. The S. tower is constructed in its well-preserved lower portion of quadrangular blocks; two of these measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long by nearly 5 ft. high; the upper part, of which a fragment is preserved, consisted of polygonal blocks. The curving curtain to its N. is magnificently built of very large, carefully-smoothed, and accurately-joined polygonal blocks, some of them over 6 ft. long and 5 ft. high, resting on a socle of squared blocks laid in horizontal courses. The slight remains of wall to N. of the gateway are built of large rough stones in a far inferior style. The diagonal wall towards the S.-E. corner of the enclosure is also of large rough stones. Thus the massive and beautiful wall of polygonal masonry exists on the E. side of the fortress alone, and extends along only about one-third of that side: it seems as if the people of the little town had considered the W. cliffs a sufficient defence on that side, but had begun to replace the old rough walls that protected the other three sides. The vestiges of buildings in the form of rows of large rough stones now contained within the area are probably mediaeval or modern, constructed out of the ruins of the ancient town. The water of the spring to S.-W. of the plateau forms a brook, which flows N. to the foot of Mt. Hypatus.



MARKET-PLACE OF MEGALOPOLIS, CONJECTURAL PLAN



RUINS NEAR DRITSA

XLVI

PLAN OF THEATRE AND THERSILIUM
AT MEGALOPOLIS

PLAN OF THEATRE AND THERSILIUM AT MEGALOPOLIS

THE site of the theatre of Megalopolis, on the S. side of the Helisson and nearly opposite to the ancient market-place, has always been well known to modern travellers. The great semicircular embankment against the side of a low hill, which supported the seats of the spectators, is visible from a long distance, whether we approach Megalopolis from the N. or the S. The remains of the theatre and of the great assembly hall known as the *Thersilium*, which immediately adjoined it on the S., and with which it was intimately connected, were excavated under the direction of the British School in 1890-1893.

The seats of the spectators rose up the sides of the hollow of a low hill which faced nearly N., *ca.* 100 yards S. of the broad bed of the Helisson; the slopes at both sides had to be prolonged by artificial embankments, supported by retaining walls; in the centre of the auditorium the hill was almost high enough, and here only a very slight embankment seems to have been raised to supplement it. The top of the auditorium is now *ca.* 76 ft. above the level of the orchestra; the remains of the retaining wall on the E. side rise to a height of *ca.* 40 ft., those on the W. side to *ca.* 36 ft.; on the further part of each side there is an inner, parallel wall, connected with the outer one by short cross-walls, and perhaps intended as an additional support for the greater height and weight of the embankment at these points. Some of the other cross-walls by the E. *parodos* are merely buttresses, but others suggest an approach to a horizontal passage running all round the auditorium. The space that would normally have been devoted to a W. *parodos* is occupied by the oblong room, of the same length as the colonnade that forms the *skéné* front, and with a channel, aligned with that colonnade, running along its N. side; this room is named on roof-tiles *skanotheka* or "stage-dock," and obviously served for shifting and storing the scenery which was intended to stand in front of the *skéné* colonnade.

This theatre, however, has no proper *skéné* in the sense of actors' quarters; for in the place usual for such there stands the large covered assembly hall, ". . . the Council House, which was built for the Arcadian Ten Thousand: it was called Thersilium after its founder" (Paus. viii. 32. 1). It is to be compared with the *Telesterion* at Eleusis; the columns supporting the roof are so arranged as to provide converging vistas. Dr. Dörpfeld's conclusions, in *Das gr. Theater*, 141, are convincing: he distinguishes three early and one, or possibly two, later periods:

I. 370-360 B.C.: Construction of Thersilium (of hard limestone and *poros*; the *breccia* columns in the interior are an addition), and of an open theatre without stone seats; strict symmetry is not observed; the porch has two steps; the orchestra has a complete circle.

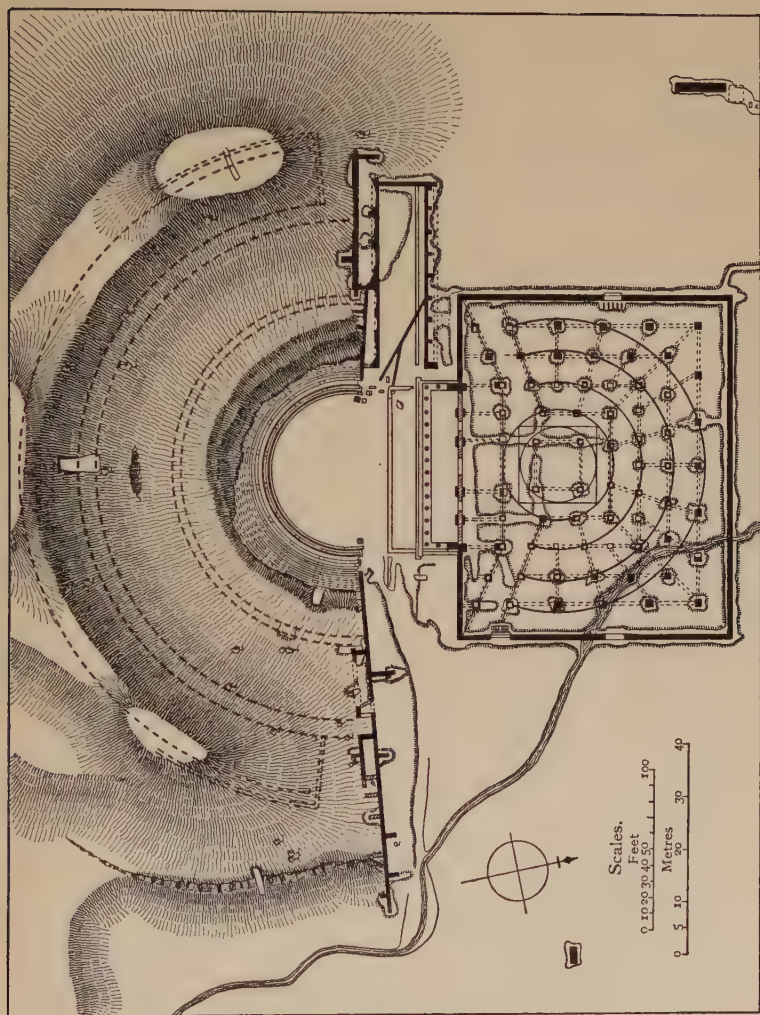
II. Second half of fourth century: Building of the stone theatre (of hard limestone and *breccia*); lowering of the orchestra and adding of the three lower steps of the porch.

III. Likewise second half of fourth century, perhaps not many years after II.: Erection of the seats of honour, and second, only partial lowering of the orchestra, sloping down from the bottom of the lowest step of the porch to the top of the gutter in front of the seats.

Perhaps after 220 B.C.: Erection of low wooden *proskēnion* on stone stylobate intersecting the orchestra circle.

There are slight suggestions of a late Roman *logeion*.

This theatre was to Pausanias "the largest in Greece"; the area of its orchestra is in fact double that of the theatres at Athens and Epidaurus; his attention was attracted by the "perennial spring of water" which still rises in the orchestra. The arrangements of orchestra and colonnade furnish strong arguments in favour of the original use of the former for dramatic representations.



Walker & Bouillat, sc.

THEATRE AND THERSILIUM AT MEGALOPOLIS

XLVII

SANCTUARY OF THE MISTRESS
AT LYCOSURA

SANCTUARY OF THE MISTRESS AT LYCOSURA

AMONG the hills, the S. spurs of Mt. Lycaeus, which bound the plain of Megalopolis on the W., is the modern village of *Stala*. It stands on the bank of a stream (the ancient *Plataniston*) which flows E. to join the *Alpheus*. From *Stala* a somewhat steep path ascends in *ca.* twenty minutes to the ruins of Lycosura, which lie on a small rocky hill to the E. of the village. From the E. side of this hill a low ridge runs E. for a few hundreds of yards, ending in a green knoll or hillside; the N. slope of the ridge is broken by a terrace, not many feet below the summit of the hillock; and on this terrace are the ruins of the sanctuary of the Mistress. They were excavated by Messrs. Cavvadias and Leonardos in 1889-1890, and 1895; the dating of the various portions of the sanctuary, the reconstruction of the great group by Damophon of Messene, and the determination of the period of that artist's activity, have been the subject of much discussion, but now may be considered settled.

Pausanias says (viii. 37. 1-10) that on entering the sacred precinct you had on the right a colonnade, and that in front of the temple stood three altars. Remains of all these have been found in the situations described by Pausanias. The precinct was enclosed on the W. by a boundary-wall strengthened by buttresses. The only entrance was from the E., to the S. of the ruined chapel of St. Athanasius. The colonnade is on the N. side, *i.e.* on the right as you entered; its interior dimensions are 64×5.82 metres; at the back it was connected by short cross-walls with the boundary-wall of the precinct; its façade was supported by Doric columns made of the native stone; these are unfluted, but some fluted Doric half-columns have also come to light. At the W. end of the colonnade is a chamber *ca.* 3.80 metres square, measured on the inside; its walls, so far as they exist, are built of squared blocks set upright, two of these blocks making the thickness of the wall; here an archaic bronze statuette, perhaps of Athena, was found.

A little to the S. of the colonnade are the remains of the three altars mentioned by Pausanias; they stand in a row from E. to W.; the most easterly is faced on the outside with marble fragments brought from some other structure; the middle one is built more regularly of large blocks of the native limestone, of which two courses are preserved; of the W. altar only three stones remain. Pausanias's order indicates that they were devoted to Demeter, the Mistress, and the Great Mother respectively.

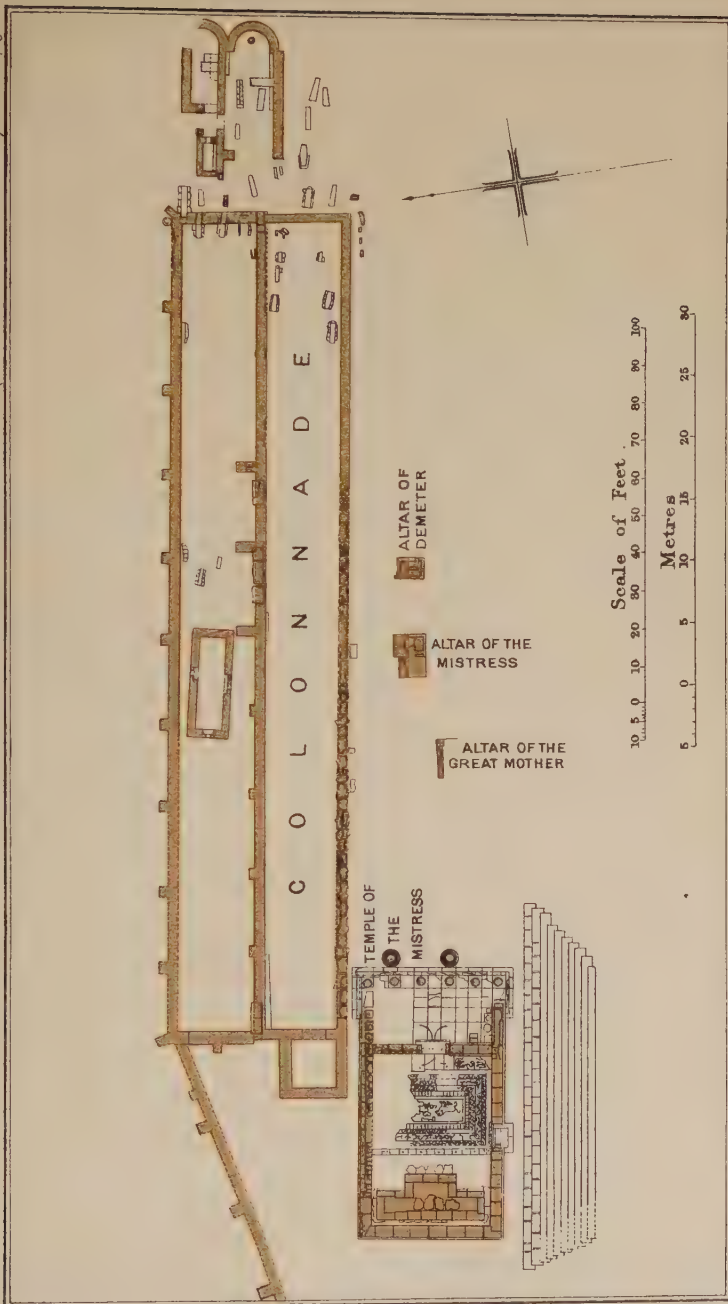
The temple of the Mistress stood towards the W. end of the precinct, immediately to the S. of the W. end of the colonnade. The foundations, the lower part of the walls, the pavement of the *pronaos*, and the great pedestal which supported the images are all made of the native limestone, of a grey colour streaked with red. The upper part of the walls, above a socle of squared stones, so far as it is preserved, is composed of large, thick, imperfectly fired bricks bonded together, apparently, with mortar. The E. façade, including the six Doric columns which supported it, was of white marble from *Doliad*; the W. gable was of the same material. The E. part of the *cella*, paved with a design in mosaic, was divided by a barrier from the W. part, in which is the great pedestal that supported the four statues mentioned by Pausanias, of which so many fragments have been found (now partly in Athens, partly in the local museum). An inscription on the S. side commemorates a restoration in the Imperial age.

Three periods are to be distinguished in the temple: in the fourth century B.C. were constructed the lower part of the walls and the S. door in its original form; near the beginning of the second century B.C. the S. door was modified and the present threshold of the E. door was laid, the pavement was raised and probably given its mosaic decoration, at the same time that Damophon constructed the cult group; the brick portions of the walls, the columns of the portico, and all the marble portions of the roof belong to the Roman period.

G. Dickens, in *Ann. Brit. Sch. at Ath.* xiii. (1906-1907), 357-404. K. Kuruniotes, *Κατάλογος τοῦ Μουσείου Λυκοσούρας*, Athens, 1911. E. Meyer, in Pauly-Wissowa, xiii. 2417-2432.

SANCTUARY OF THE MISTRESS AT LYCOSURA (GROUND PLAN)

Vol. I. To face page 672



London: Macmillan & Co. L^{td}

Stanford's Geog. Estab^l London.

XLVIII

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BASSAE

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BASSAE

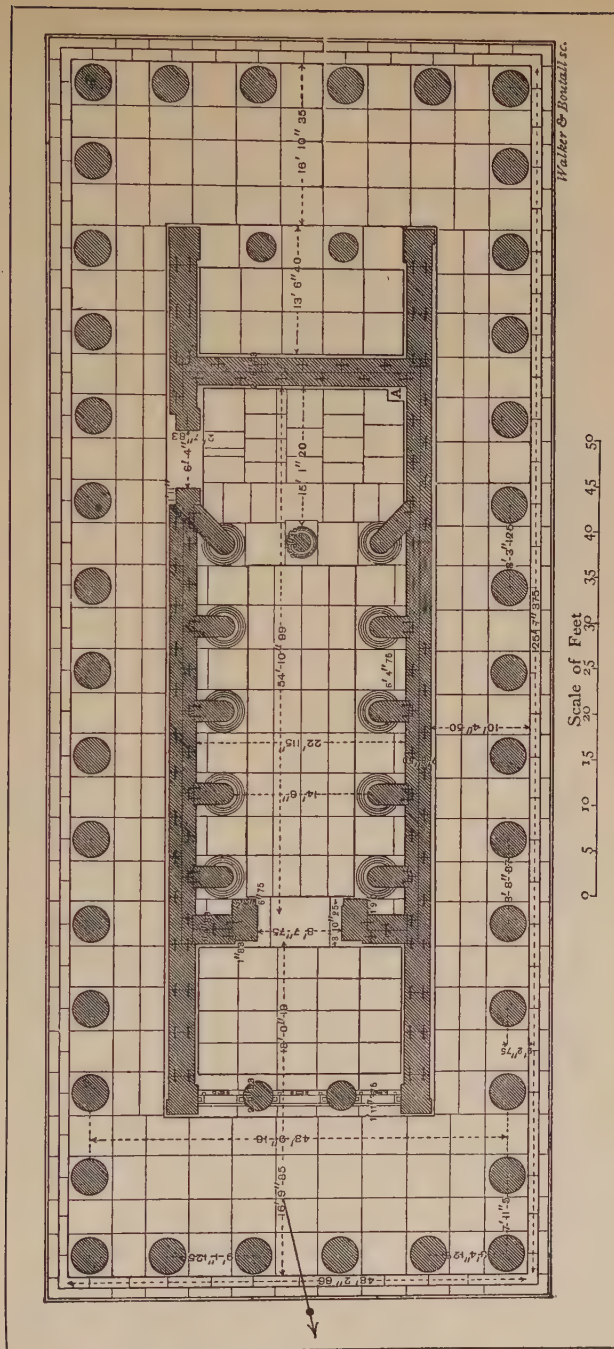
THIS, by far the best preserved of all ancient temples in the Peloponnesus, stands in a strikingly wild and secluded situation at a height of 3700 ft. above the sea on a narrow rocky ridge running nearly N. and S. and artificially widened to receive it; the exceptional position, facing to N., not E., is doubtless due to exigencies of space, but the presence, at the back of the *cella*, of a room facing E. may perpetuate the memory of an earlier, smaller edifice with normal orientation; objects found in the filling of the terrace, and in particular terra-cotta revetments, testify to the presence here of a cult with buildings of some consequence in the early part of the seventh century B.C. (K. Kuruniotes, in 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1910, 271-332). The present temple is assigned by Pausanias (viii. 41. 8 f.) to Ictinus, one of the architects of the Parthenon, and dated in the early years of the Peloponnesian War; and his dating is confirmed by the stylistic qualities of the architecture and the sculptured frieze. The structure was consolidated, and the walls and other details replaced when necessary, with some attempt to put the individual blocks back in their exact positions, by the Greek Archaeological Society, in 1902 (Kavvadias, in Πρακτικά, 1902, 23-27; Congrès d'Athènes, 1905, 171-179). The sculptures and some other fragments are in the British Museum.

The temple rests on a three-stepped platform, including the stylobate; its length, measured on the first step below the stylobate, is 125 ft. 7 in., and its breadth 48 ft. 2 in.; it is therefore unusually long in proportion. The walls, columns and entablature were built of a grey compact limestone, veined with white and red, which is quarried on the neighbouring mountain; the capitals of the inner columns, the coffered ceilings of the N. and S. porticoes, the roof-tiles, and the sculptures were all of a coarse-grained yellowish brown marble. The exterior columns are Doric.

There were no sculptures in the gables, but the stones above the apex and the extremities of each gable were prepared to support *akroteria*. The roof was tiled with Parian marble, according to an ingenious system by which one side of each tile was fashioned like a miniature gable-roof, overlapping the raised border of the tile next to it. The ceiling of the colonnade was formed by slabs adorned with sunken panels.

The kernel of the temple, inside the Doric colonnade, consisted of a central *cella* with *pronaos* at its N. and *opisthodomos* at its S. end; the *antae* and columns at the entrance to each of these latter supported a Doric frieze with sculptured metopes. Metal grills seem to have shut off the *pronaos* from the outer colonnade. The coffered ceiling of the *opisthodomos* was of marble with painted and gilt decorations; those of the *pronaos* and *cella* must have been of wood.

The arrangement of the *cella* is very remarkable, and is comparable to the innovations introduced by Ictinus in the Parthenon and the Eleusinian *Telesterion*. Each side is broken up into alcoves by short cross-walls terminating in Ionic half-columns, the capitals of which have volutes on three sides—the earliest instance of this device. The half-columns supported a frieze which ran all round the *cella* and was sculptured with the battle of the Greeks and Amazons, and the Lapiths and Centaurs. Between the last two buttresses and the S. wall of the *cella* there intervenes a space of *ca.* 15 ft. which may be supposed to have been the inmost shrine where stood the image of the deity. The two buttresses in question are set obliquely, and between them, in the axis of the *cella*, stood a marble Corinthian column with exquisitely-wrought capital; if this belonged to the original temple, it is the earliest known example of the Corinthian order.



XLIX
MANTINEA AND TEGEA

XLIX

MANTINEA AND TEGEA

THE railway has now been extended S.-W. from Tripolitsa past *Frankourysi* and on to *Kalamata* on the S. coast of Messenia.

Pausanias twice enters the area of this map. He mentions (viii. 6. 2) a pass (by which later he leaves Arcadia) from Argolis by Hysiae and over Mt. Parthenius, debouching in the territory of Tegea; and two passes debouching in the territory of Mantinea. He enters the Fallow Plain, sees Nestane on a mountain to his left, passes over a slight eminence, descends into another plain where there is a fountain called Arne beside the high road; then proceeds to Mantinea, which he describes in detail (8. 4-9. 10). Then he takes up the several roads leading from Mantinea to the rest of Arcadia: to Tegea, to Pallantium, to Methydrium (W., see VIII), two to Orchomenus, whence two roads lead him to N. Arcadia outside the area of this map. The second time (viii. 43) he comes by the highway from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea; after a full account of the latter place he mentions the "Alpheus" (see above), and takes up in turn the roads from Tegea to Thyrea (in the Argolid, to S.-E.), and to Argos (by way of Mt. Parthenius).

This is the great plain of S.-E. Arcadia, 2175 ft. above sea-level, damp and chilly in winter, stifling hot and in parts malarial in summer. Tripolitsa, now the metropolis, is a post-classical development; the ancient centres were Mantinea, controlling the lateral valley to the N., and Tegea, dominating the S. part of the plain and barring the direct route to Lacedaemon. The map shows how it was fated that a decisive battle should be fought at the former place, and why the people of Tegea were almost constantly at grips with the Spartans. (For Mantinea, see Nos. XXXVII. 2, XLIII.) At the S.-W. corner of the vast extent occupied by the city of Tegea, the village of *Piali* contains the remains of the temple of Athena Alea, which was rebuilt, with Scopas of Paros as architect, after the fire of 395 B.C. (some sculptures are in Athens, the other details in the local museum); within the sacred area the French excavations have yielded offerings from the earlier period of the shrine.

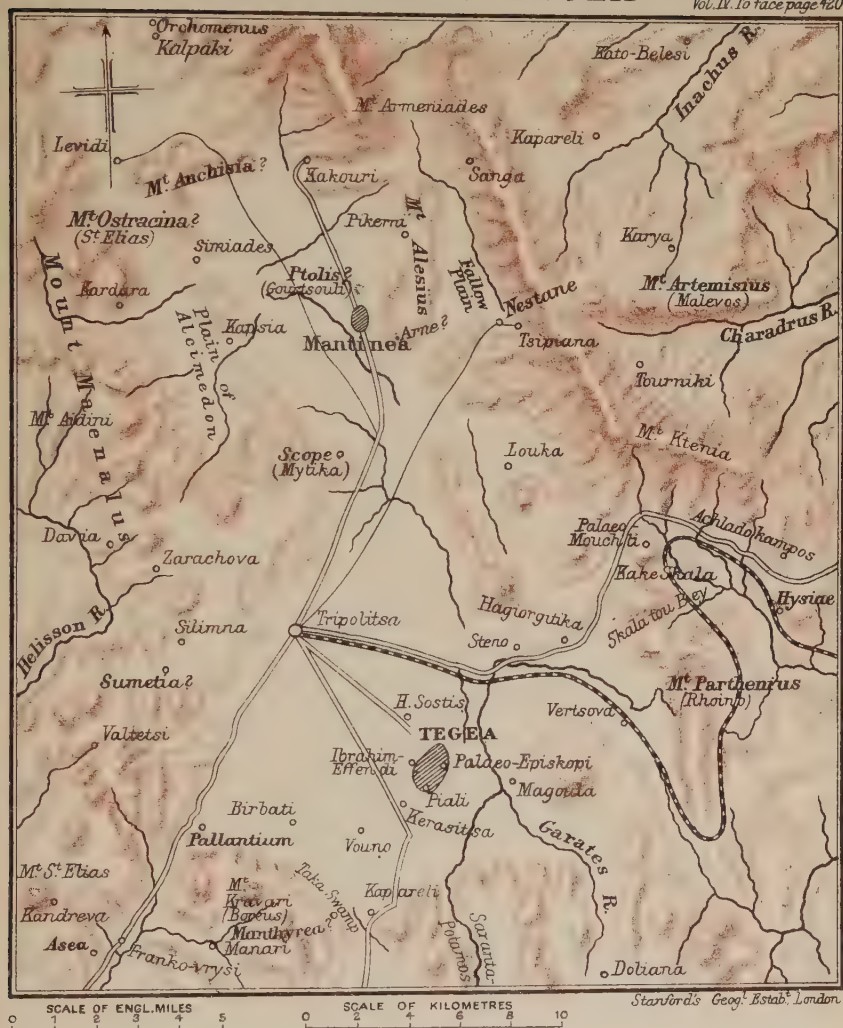
The hydrography of this region is interesting, since there is no natural drainage above ground: the streams burrow their own subterranean outlets. In the extreme S.-W. corner of the map is marked the acropolis of Asea, near which Pausanias and Strabo (viii. 3. 12) place the sources of the Alpheus and Eurotas; in the latter case erroneously, for the water from both of the sets of springs near Asea, which can still be easily recognised (they gave the name to *Frankourysi* in the time of the Latin overlords), finds its way along the gorge followed by the new railway and eventually to the plain of Megalopolis, some 700 ft. lower, where various confluent go to form the Alpheus as it heads for the wild gorge of *Karytena* on its way N.-W. towards Olympia and the sea (see also VIII, Arcadia). The river *Saranta-potamos*, at the middle of the bottom of the map, was wrongly identified by Pausanias as the upper course of the Alpheus; he notes that it is the boundary between the lands of Lacedaemon and Tegea; he must have thought that it flowed into the chasm which still drains the swamp of *Taka*, in early spring a veritable lake in extent, at the S.-W. corner of the plain; but in reality on entering the plain it bends away to N.-E. and eventually disappears in a chasm at the foot of Mt. Parthenius, not far from the village of *Vertsova*. Mt. Parthenius has a name in literature, for it was here, according to Herodotus (vi. 105), that Pan met Phidippides and promised his aid to the Athenians.

Pallantium, the acropolis of which has been identified as occupying the summit of a conical green hill of moderate height near the highway as it leads out from the S.-W. corner of the plain, deserves notice because, as Pausanias knew, it was from here that the Romans considered the pre-Romulean settlers of the Palatine to have come. Traces of the fortification-wall can be seen round the summit, and on the highest point of the hill are the foundations of a temple, doubtless the sanctuary of the Pure Gods mentioned by Pausanias; there is another foundation a little lower down, on the S.-E. slope. The town was situated in the plain at the N. and E. foot of the hill, but most of the stones have been carried away to build Tripolitsa. Near a fountain there are the foundations of a temple.

G. Fougères, *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale* (with valuable maps).

MANTINEA & TEGEA

Vol. IV To face page 420



Stanford's Geog. Estab. London

LONDON: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

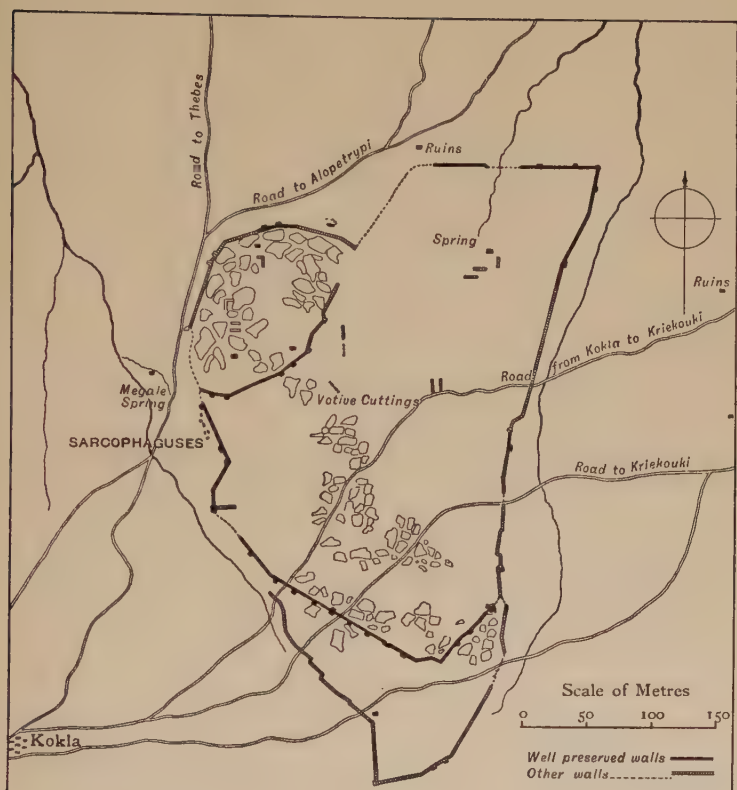
L
PLATAEA

PLATAEA

THE ruins of Plataea occupy a triangular plateau which projects N. into the Boeotian plain from the foot of Mt. Cithaeron. The base is turned towards the plain and the N., while the apex almost touches the declivity of Cithaeron, from which it is divided by a shallow ravine some 16 ft. deep. The plateau rises little above the surrounding plain; it is highest at the S.; its sides were probably never high or steep enough to form a sufficient natural defence without the aid of walls. The rock is a coarse grey marble, and of this all the existing walls of the ancient city are built; the soil is a clayey lime earth.

The ancient walls may be traced in a circuit of *ca.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles all round the edge of the plateau; in some places they are standing to a considerable height. Inside the circuit wall are two cross-walls: an upper one, extending roughly E. to W. and cutting off the apex of the triangle, and a lower one, cutting off the N.-W. corner of the site and thus having formed, at some date, an acropolis. Five different styles of masonry may be distinguished, pointing to as many different periods of construction: (1) well-jointed polygonal masonry (these pieces are the worst preserved); (2) an intermediate style, better than (1) but not so well built as (3); (3) excellent workmanship, with large, four-sided blocks laid neatly and accurately in horizontal courses, the outer surfaces of the blocks being somewhat rounded or bulging, and cut vertically into wide and rather deep grooves (the upper cross-wall and the wall at the N.-E. corner); (4) the lower cross-wall, carelessly built of earlier materials; (5) latest and worst of all, some Roman or, more probably, Byzantine fragments and stretches on the N. and W. sides, built of rubble and tiles laid in mortar. All the walls were defended at intervals by projecting towers, of which there are many remains; four of these are round, the rest square. The walls at the S. end, beyond the upper cross-wall, are the earliest, and here seems to have stood the original acropolis or even city. The best preserved and best built portion of the whole fortifications is the upper cross-wall. The foundations of what was probably the temple of Hera were discovered by the American School in 1891, on a small terrace about the middle of the N. division of Plataea, to the S.-E. of the later cross-wall which encloses the N.-W. corner of the plateau. The temple of Hera is stated (Hdt. ix. 52) to have been in front of the city in 479 B.C., but appears to have been within the walls in Pausanias's time: this accords with the position of these remains, which are considered to be the structure built by the Thebans soon after 427 B.C.; the presence of a layer of blackened earth beneath them indicates that a former temple had been destroyed by fire. In the N. portion of the town-site lies a mass of ruins, containing ancient fragments; pieces of marble are also built into the walls of two springs, one some 250 yards E. of the plateau, the other immediately W. of the walls and serving as a washing-place for the women of *Kokla*, the modern village on the lower slopes of Cithaeron, a little to the S.-W. of Plataea.

The topography of the battle of 479 B.C. is difficult, and there have been considerable divergencies of opinion with regard to it. Herodotus's (ix. 14-75) detailed account was probably derived from men who had themselves taken part in the fight; but the unruly mountain-fed torrents may have shifted their courses and deposited alluvial soil many feet thick since that time. The identification of some of the most important spots is still very uncertain: but the sanctuary of Demeter, on the slope of Cithaeron above Plataea, appears represented by two inscriptions found a little to the E. of *Kriekouki*; the Gargaphian spring, from which the whole Greek army drew their water, was situated among low hills at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sanctuary of Hera; and the Island, to which the hard-pressed Greeks had thoughts of retreating, was formed by a stream the waters of which, descending from Cithaeron, divided and then, after flowing round a tract of ground *ca.* 3 furlongs wide, reunited; the Island lay in front of Plataea at a distance of a little over a mile from both the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring.



PLATAEA

Walker & Boutall sc.

LI
ANCIENT THEBES

LI

ANCIENT THEBES

THE railway now passes practically along the N. edge of the plan.

The results of years of special research and excavation were presented by Dr. A. D. Keramopullos, in *Θηβαϊκά*, being vol. iii. (1917) of *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*. His plan shows important changes as compared with older views. Several prehistoric burial areas have been explored, on the higher ground to the S. of the Cadmea and along the ridges to E. and W. of the Ismenus; the circuit of the outer wall is extended on the N. and E. to include Hag. Athanasios, Hag. Paraskevi, Hag. Theodori, and the Ismenium; and an attempt, largely convincing, has been made to ascertain the position of the gates of both circuits, and to identify those mentioned by Pausanias, on a different principle from that followed on the present map: Pausanias's gates, those of the *Seven Against Thebes*, are placed in the inner, Cadmean, circuit. Keramopullos also identified the spring at Hag. Theodori as the Oedipodia; he excavated the Ismenium; he explored the burnt prehistoric edifice within the citadel, known to antiquity as the House of Cadmus. A museum has been installed at the N. end of the Cadmea.

Thebes stood on the N. side of a range of low hills which extends from the foot of Helicon, near Thespieae, on the W., to near Tanagra on the E., separating the N. from the S. plain of Boeotia. The line of hills, here at its lowest, is intersected by the channels of streams. One plateau is occupied by the modern town of Thebes, which undoubtedly stands on the site of the Cadmea or acropolis. On its W. side it is bounded by the valley of the Dirce; on its E. by a deep winding depression or gully. The plateau slopes gently upward towards its S. extremity, where it is connected by a saddle with the somewhat higher ground to the S. Here the modern road from Athens enters Thebes.

The distant views are superb; the eye ranges over a magnificent circle of mountains of fine and varied outlines which bound the horizon on all sides: Cithaeron on the S., Helicon on the W., the massive Parnassus far away on the N.-W., the mountain of the Sphinx more to the N., Ptous due N., and the bare rugged Hypatus on the N.-E.

But ancient Thebes seems to have extended over the neighbouring hills or plateaux both to the W. and to the E. That the earlier city did not occupy the whole of the area indicated may be taken as certain. Probably it was at first confined to the Cadmea. The extension may have taken place in 457 B.C.; Dr. Keramopullos, however, *op. cit.* p. 297, observing that the cemeteries of the end of the sixth century B.C. appear to lie outside the larger circuit, prefers to date its construction at the close of that century.

Pausanias approaches from the S.; he mentions the ring of the "ancient" wall and enumerates its seven gates, still existing in his own day. Toward Plataea lies the Electran gate, and outside it he sees various monuments of legendary, historical and religious interest; on one's right as one comes from Plataea is the hill called Ismenius, with the sanctuary of Apollo, and nearby the stream of the same name. The shrine of Heracles and other edifices lay "to the left" of the Electran gate; the statue of Epaminondas roused suggestive memories. After describing the city itself, Pausanias follows the road which led from the Proetidian gate to Chalcis, mentioning a theatre, various edifices, and (somewhat to his left) the mound, even to-day a landmark, known as the tomb of Zethus and Amphion; and soon coming to the tombs of the children of Oedipus and the spring Oedipodia. Then he returns to Thebes and describes the road leading N., past the stadium and the Hippodrome with the tomb of Pindar and on to Mt. Ptous and beyond. Again, he follows the road which leads from the Neitan gate W. across the Dirce and on to the Cabirium. His method at Thebes (ix. 5-25) is exactly analogous to his method of describing Megalopolis and the roads leading from it.



LII
THE COPAIC LAKE DISTRICT

THE COPAIC LAKE DISTRICT

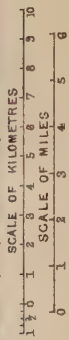
THE railway now parallels the main carriage road in the S.-W. part of the map ; the lake has been drained, and its place is now occupied by a vast level plain, a great part of which is under cultivation, with drainage-canals at intervals. Like the basins of Pheneus and Stymphalus and the plain of Tegea in Arcadia, the Copaic basin is hemmed in so closely by mountains that the water which pours down into it cannot escape above ground and has been forced in the course of ages to hollow out for itself subterranean passages through the limestone rock. These *katavothras* exist at the foot of the mountains on the N.-E. and E. sides of the plain, which is here bounded by a long line of precipitous limestone cliffs some 70 to 100 ft. high, once a series of capes and bays washed by the waters of the lake. Twenty-five of these fissures are marked on the maps ; sixteen have separate names ; they are of all sizes, and the largest have formed only by the gradual widening of small rents. The very slight general slope of the plain from W. to E., with a very slight rise in the middle, caused the water to flow towards the N., E., and S. The height of the plain above sea averages 311 ft. ; the surface of the lake, when full, was *ca.* 318 ft. above sea ; it was fed by streams from the W. and S., while the natural emissories are situated on its N. and E. banks. The Melas, originating in copious perennial springs near Orchomenus, is the only tributary which, after the lake has been drained, continues even in the height of summer to flow across the whole width of the plain in a deep bed of its own ; it falls into the *Great Katavothra* at the N.-E. corner of the plain.

The level of the lake varied greatly from time to time. Such variations, in all lakes which are drained by natural subterranean passages, depend first on the varying capacity of the emissories, which may become slowly clogged and choked up by alluvial deposits and are also exposed to sudden and incalculable changes wrought by earthquakes, landslips, floating logs and so on ; and second, the fluctuations in the rainfall. In no lake, perhaps, have the annual changes been more regular and marked than in the Copaic ; in the summer there was only a great brown expanse, broken here and there by a patch of green marsh ; with the setting in of the heavy autumn rains in November the lake began to rise ; it reached its greatest depth in February or March, by which time the mouths of the emissories were completely submerged ; when viewed from a height such as the acropolis of Orchomenus it appeared as an immense fen, of vivid green colour, overgrown with sedge, reeds, and canes, through which the river Cephissus or the Melas might be seen sluggishly oozing, with here and there a gleam of sunlit water, especially towards the N.-E. corner of the mere. In spring the water began to sink ; by the middle of summer great stretches were bare ; by the end of August the greater part of the basin was generally dry, though the water did not reach its lowest point till October.

The map indicates the situation of three of the subterranean outlets : in the upper valley of Larymna (see W. A. Oldfather, in *A. J. A.* xx. (1916), 32-61), beside the bay of *Skroponeri*, and through the lakes *Likeri* and *Paralimni*. The plan of draining the Copaic lake, which has been recently accomplished, was conceived and apparently executed at a very remote time in antiquity, tradition said by the men of Orchomenus, *i.e.* the Minyans, whose prosperity may well have been largely due to the rich harvests and the control over their neighbours thus obtained. The modern engineers have discovered a complete and very ancient system of drainage works in the bed of the lake. There were three canals : the N. canal, beginning on the N. bank at the modern *Karya* and eventually including the waters of the Melas ; the central canal, receiving the waters of the Hercyna ; and the S. canal, beginning at the mouth of the Phalarus beside the village of *Mamoura*. The Minyan engineers thus guided these various waters to the mouths of the natural emissories ; but there are also remains of ancient works begun with the intention of constructing artificial emissories, in the direction of Larymna and also toward Lake *Likeri* ; their date is not clear, perhaps they are due to the engineers of Alexander or Nero.



London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.



LIII

GLA (GHA, GOULAS)

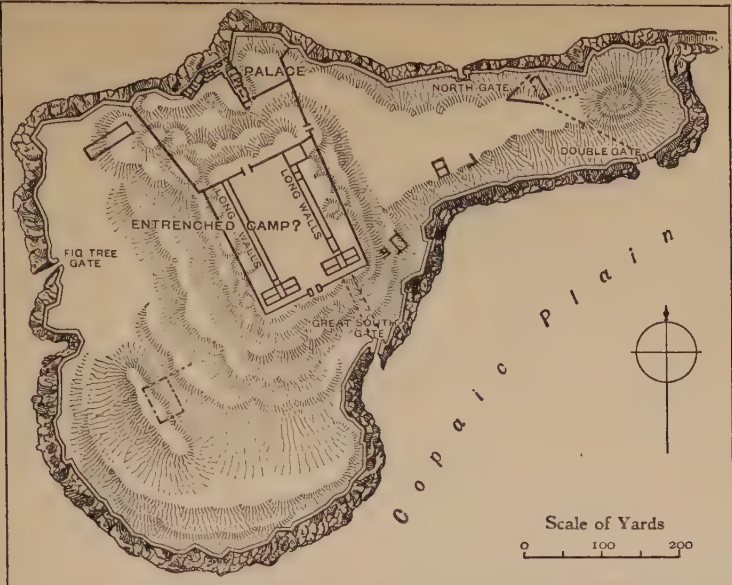
GLA (GHA, GOULAS)

PAUSANIAS makes no mention of a very remarkable fortress of which the well-preserved remains are to be seen to this day on a low rocky tableland of some extent, till lately an island in the lake, and known in modern times by the above names, which rises abruptly on all sides from the dead flat of the Copaic plain. These remains show a general resemblance to the constructions at Mycenae and Tiryns; but they exhibit marked differences as well. They would have been built by a people akin in civilisation, if not in race, to the inhabitants of those strongholds: such a people were the Minyans of the neighbouring Orchomenus. Gla bears the imprint of a single period and of a single plan; there is not a trace of an earlier or of a later settlement; the marks of fire which have been observed in the palace point to the conclusion that its end was sudden and violent; its very name in antiquity is not known with certainty.

Gla is distant some 2 miles to the S.-E. of Copae, and forms a conspicuous object, with the long grey line of fortification-wall stretching along its brow; its circumference is *ca.* 2 miles; its greatest height, to N., is *ca.* 200 ft., here in particular its edges fall away steeply; a natural ramp leads up to the most E. point of the tableland. On the highest ground, close to the N. edge, is built the great palace. All round the outer edge of the plateau runs an immensely (17-19 ft.) thick fortification-wall, nowhere interrupted, and still standing for long stretches to a height of 3 and 4 courses (4 to 8 ft.) on the outside. It is built of rude but solid masonry; the blocks, of varying sizes, are very roughly fitted together, the chinks being filled with small stones; the blocks are roughly squared, their exterior to some extent smoothed, and on the whole they are laid in horizontal courses; some measure $6 \times 3 \times 3$ ft.; one at the S. gate is $7\frac{3}{4}$ ft. in length. A special feature consists of a series of retreating angles, at intervals of from 20 to 40 ft., but in general *ca.* 30 ft.; the depth of the backsets varies from *ca.* 4 in. to *ca.* 2 ft.; commonly they measure 10, 12, or 16 in.; a similar system occurs at Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, Phylakope and Samicum. There are no towers except at the four gates, to N., W., S., and S.-E. respectively; the N. and S. gates seem to have been the principal ones. The masonry of the towers is more massive and regular than that of the walls; the N. gate had a court between the outer and inner openings; the smaller W. gate likewise seems to have had an interior court; the S. gateway was naturally as well as artificially much stronger than the N. one; the S.-E. gate consists of two openings side by side in the wall.

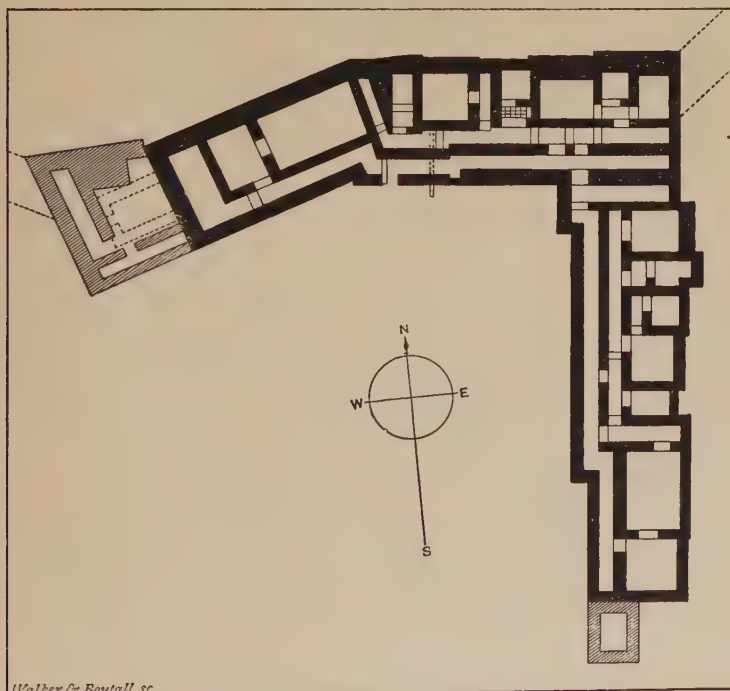
The N. wall of the palace rests directly on the fortification-wall, which here runs along the brow of high precipices; in style the two are indistinguishable. The inner walls, built of irregularly-shaped stones of various sizes, with small stones in the interstices, were excavated in 1893 by Mr. A. de Ridder and were everywhere standing to a height varying from 18 in. to 2 and 3 ft. The plan consisted of two long wings, one on the N. and one on the E., meeting at right angles. The N. wing ends on the W. in a large tower; the E. wing ends on the S. in a much smaller one; the total length of the N. wing is *ca.* 263 ft., of the E. wing *ca.* 239 ft. Each comprises a series of chambers on its outer side, while its inner side is occupied for its greater part by two broad corridors; the entrance to the palace is at the middle of the outer corridor of the N. wing. The chambers vary greatly in size; some are inter-communicating, and some open through anterooms. The partition-walls seem to have been covered with a thick coating of stucco; in one room and a vestibule some remains of frescoes have been observed. The pavement was of concrete, composed of lime-mortar mixed here and there with pebbles, and resting on a bed of small stones; in one room faint traces of a painted decoration have been observed upon the floor; and in only one vestibule is there a pavement of stone. The thresholds are immense slabs, carefully smoothed; one is 10 ft. long by 6 ft. wide. The external walls of the palace on their inner side are built in a style intermediate between that of the outer fortification-walls and the inner partition-walls.

The other walls on the plateau are indicated on the general plan; with the exception of the partition-walls, they are in the same style as the outer walls of the palace.



Walker & Boutall sc.

PLAN OF RUINS OF GLA (GHA, GOULAS)



Walker & Boutall sc.

PLAN OF PALACE OF GLA (GHA, GOULAS)

LIV

DELPHI BEFORE THE FRENCH
EXCAVATIONS OF 1892-1897

DELPHI BEFORE THE FRENCH EXCAVATIONS OF 1892-1897

THE situation of Delphi is accurately described by Strabo (ix. 3. 3) : " On the S. side of Parnassus is Delphi, a rocky place in the form of a theatre, with the oracle and the city at the top. The circumference of the city is 16 furlongs. . . . Now (the Delphians) dwell about the Castalian spring. In front of the city, to the S., lies Mt. Cirphis, a precipitous mountain, separated from Delphi by a dale through which flows the Plistus river." The city lay at the S. foot of the tremendous cliffs of Parnassus, which form a sheer wall of rock, *ca.* 800 ft. high, running from N.-W. to S.-E., and then bending round at an obtuse angle towards the S.—the Phædriades or " shining " rocks. Just at the angle where this vast wall of rock bends round towards the S. it is rent from top to bottom by a deep and gloomy gorge, some 20 ft. wide, in which there is a fine echo. Facing each other across this chasm rise two stupendous cliffs, whose peaked summits tower considerably above the rest of the line of cliffs : the Eastern one was called Hyampia in antiquity ; it is now called *Phlemboukos*, and the W. one *Rhodini*. In winter or wet weather a torrent comes foaming down the gorge in a cascade *ca.* 200 ft. high. At the mouth of the gorge, under the E. cliff, is the rock-cut basin of the perennial Castalian spring, a few paces above the high road. The water from the spring joins the stream from the gorge, which plunging into a deep glen descends to join the Plistus at a great depth below the town. From the cliffs at the back of Delphi down to the bed of the Plistus there are *ca.* thirty terraces, supported by stone walls, mostly of polygonal masonry ; the sanctuary of Apollo occupies only the five or six highest terraces, on the W. side of the Castalian gorge ; twenty minutes are needed to descend the steep slope to the Plistus, beyond which are the bare precipitous cliffs of Mt. Cirphis. From the W. end of the precipice which rises at the back of Delphi a high rocky ridge projects towards the Plistus ; this ridge closes the valley on the W., shutting out all view of the Crisaean plain and the gulf of Corinth, though a glimpse of the waters of the gulf is obtained from the stadium (now excavated), the highest part of Delphi, and a superb command of the whole region from the fortifications of Philomelus, high up on the crest of the ridge itself. Thus enclosed, Delphi lay in a secluded mountain valley, and rising on terraces in a semicircular shape, it resembled an immense theatre, as Strabo and others have noted. The whole scene is one of stern and awful majesty, well fitted to be the seat of a great religious capital. In respect of natural scenery no contrast could well be more striking than that between Delphi and Olympia.

Pausanias (x. 8. 6) entered Delphi from the E. ; by comparing his description with the existing remains we see that the ancient road, at least in its last part, must have been nearly or quite the same as the present road from *Arachova* ; it passes through one of the ancient cemeteries of Delphi, which extended far down the slope to the steep banks of the Plistus and also included many sepulchral niches cut in the rocks which overhang the road on the right ; the *Logari*, the likeness of a great double door, chiselled in the face of a rock which has fallen from the cliffs, and lies somewhat below (not above) the line of the new highway, may have marked the entrance to the necropolis.

Pausanias mentions first the four temples, including that of Athena Pronaia, with the precinct of the hero Phylacus (No. LVI) ; next, the Gymnasium, which has an upper terrace with a colonnade and a lower terrace with baths and other arrangements ; then (with an allusion to the Plistus flowing below) the Castalian spring, after which he comes to the city proper and in its highest part the sanctuary of Apollo, to which the greater portion of his tenth book is devoted (No. LV). He leaves the sanctuary by the theatre, sees the stadium, and, still true to the topographical order, ascends the imposing cliffs of Parnassus on his way to the lonely Corycian cave, situated high on the upper pine-clad slopes of the mountain (x. 32. 2).



LV

DELPHI, PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS OF
MAIN SANCTUARY

DELPHI, PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS OF MAIN SANCTUARY

IN modern times the upper or sacred quarter of the ancient city was occupied by the village of *Kastrí* down to 1892 when it was cleared away and the people transferred to the new town on the further side of the western ridge. The enclosing wall of the precinct owes its present form to the rebuilding and enlargement of the shrine in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. which is associated with the name of the Alcmaeonidae, who contracted to build the temple (*ca.* 513 B.C.); at several points its developed polygonal construction has given way to other styles, as at the S.-E. corner which was rearranged about the year 400 B.C. (ashlar, with striated surface), and at certain points an earlier, inner line of wall has been traced (*e.g.* to E. of Gate B.' of the W. wall).

We follow Pausanias's order, beginning at the S.-E. entrance. The first of the three divisions of the precinct lies below the great polygonal wall of the temple terrace; it is traversed by the Sacred Way (the name is not attested from antiquity for Delphi) in two stretches, lined on both sides in antiquity with an unbroken succession of monuments which illustrated some of the brightest triumphs and darkest tragedies in Greek history.

The central portion of the precinct is occupied by the temple of Apollo and the great terrace on which it stood. The polygonal retaining-wall below, in the "Lesbian" curvilinear technique,—a wonder of the mason's art,—is due to the "Alcmaeonid" rebuilding, and the massive foundations of the temple itself are of the same time, except at the W. end. The steps and pavement, so far as preserved, and the fragments of the superstructure, are due to a rebuilding in the second and third quarters of the fourth century B.C.

Incorporated in the foundations at the W. end, also owing to the rebuilding in the fourth century, can be observed many fragments, partly marble, of the Alcmaeonid temple, and sculptured fragments of both marble and *poros* are in the Museum. *Poros* architectural details have also been identified as belonging to the early archaic temple which was replaced by the Alcmaeonid structure; some of these are built into the stairway leading down, at the S. of the temple, to the channel which conveyed the water from the Cassotis spring to the primitive sanctuaries of Earth and the Muses after it had passed beneath the temple of Apollo itself.

Above the temple platform is the upper third of the precinct, where except for the Lesche of the Cnidians, the lofty site for which must have been chosen partly for its view and seclusion, there were few large monuments earlier than the second half of the fourth century B.C.; it contained the primitive precinct of Neoptolemus at its S.-E. edge and the bronze chariot group at its S.-W. edge, and two small structures to S.-E. of the *cavea* of the theatre; but it became fully occupied only when the lower parts of the sanctuary were already crowded.

Many of the secondary monuments of the precinct have been identified, besides those indicated on the plan; the treasury there marked "Siphnian (or Cnidian)" is now accepted as Siphnian, the base to E. of the Great Altar, marked as "Phocian Offering (?)," almost certainly supported the Tripod of Plataea.

The official publication, *Fouilles de Delphes*, is progressing towards completion. Other important works are: A. D. Keramopulos, *Guide de Delphes*, Athens, 1909. W. B. Dinsmoor, "Studies of the Delphian Treasuries," in *B. C. H.* xxxvi. (1912), 439-493; xxxvii. (1913), 5-83; also, in *A. J. A.* xxvii. (1923), 164-173. E. Bourguet, *Les Ruines de Delphes*, Paris, 1914. F. Poulsen, *Delphi*, London, 1920. Pomtow, "Delphi," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Suppl. iv. 1189-1432.

DELPHI

The Sacred Precinct
Showing the result of the French
Excavations 1892-1897.

Drawn by A. Tournaire



Scale of Metres.



Scale of Yards.



LVI

DELPHI, SANCTUARY OF ATHENA
PRONAIA

DELPHI, SANCTUARY OF ATHENA PRONAIA

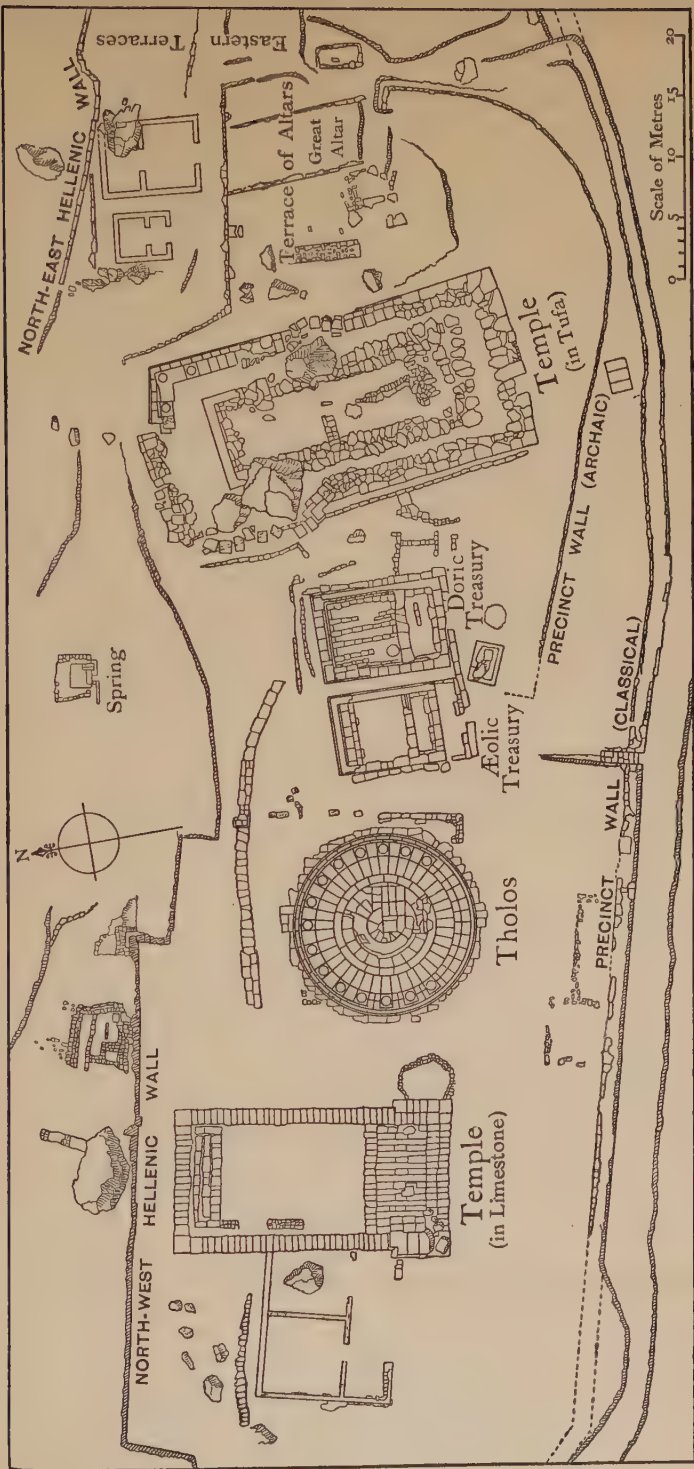
(PAUSANIAS, x. 8. 6) "On entering the city you come to a row of temples. The first of them was in ruins, and the next was empty both of images and statues. The third contained portrait statues of a few Roman emperors; and the fourth is called the temple of Athena Before the Temple. . . . Beside the sanctuary of Athena Before the Temple is a precinct of the hero Phylacus. . . ."

This sanctuary lay on the left and below the highway as the pilgrim approached Delphi by the pass from Daulis and Boeotia; to S. it enjoys a full view of the gorge of the Plistus and beyond it the slopes of Cirphis, while to the W. one looks across at the great precinct of Apollo.

The ruins which were excavated by the French in 1901, and more fully investigated in recent years, agree in general with the indications given by Pausanias. Proceeding from E. to W., there is first a diminutive precinct, shown by finds of small objects at a low level to have been the seat of a cult of a female divinity from Mycenaean times; in the classical period several altars were erected here, and inscriptions associate the cults then maintained with the patron goddesses of women's sphere of life. Next there is the large temple which Pausanias saw in ruins: a tufa Doric structure of *ca.* 490 B.C., into the foundations of which were built the remains of a very early Doric temple of tufa; the building was restored at least once in later times before it was finally abandoned. The builders had chosen the one point of all the hillside most exposed to the fall of rocks from the threatening precipice above. To its W. are the two exquisite marble edifices, the first Doric and the second a form of Ionic, now called "Aeolic," of which Pausanias says that the first was void of statues of gods and men and the second had portrait statues of some Roman emperors. The large rectangular limestone edifice beyond the round building to the W. is clearly the temple of Athena *Pronaia* (this form is preferred to *Pronoia*) of which Pausanias speaks; it was built in the fourth century B.C. in a safer position to replace the older tufa temple which had been repeatedly damaged by falling rocks. Its builders sacrificed an early structure consisting apparently of two rooms fronting on a wide vestibule—the low limestone wall doubtless supported a superstructure of sun-dried brick. The successive phases in the use of the terrace are reflected in the various stretches of retaining-wall: an early archaic wall curves below the Eastern temple, and the present line to E., S., and W. of the enlarged sanctuary is of the late sixth century B.C., in a polygonal style similar to the greater part of the enclosing-wall of the Apollo precinct of the Alcmaeonid period. To N., however, the wall which had the function of protecting the area from landslides falls into diverse stretches, with plan and technique corresponding to the several phases of building activity represented in the sacred edifices themselves.

The two small rectangular marble buildings to W. of the old tufa temple are probably treasuries (see No. LV); the "Aeolic" treasury probably belonged to Massilia which, as Pausanias reminds us, was a colony of Phocaea.

More difficult problems are presented by the marble rotunda between these treasuries and the fourth-century temple. It is a masterpiece of mature Doric mingled with Ionic elements and suffused with Ionic charm; the material and execution equal the design. The columns which stood against the inside of the wall are very early examples of Corinthian; this building appears a forerunner of the temple at Tegea and the Rotunda at Epidaurus (No. XXXII). It can hardly have been other than the *tholus* at Delphi mentioned by Vitruvius, vii. *praef.* 12, as the subject of a treatise by Theodorus of Phocaea, apparently its architect; and we may imagine that the Phocaeans received his commission from either the mother-city or the colony, for a dedication adjoining the treasury of the Massalioes. Pausanias's expression with regard to the precinct of the hero Phylacus, and still more the statement of Herodotus (viii. 39) that it lay "beside the road itself, above the sanctuary of Pronaia," preclude our regarding this round building as the shrine of that hero; and our delight in its beauties should not obscure the possibility that Pausanias passed it by without remark as lying outside the field of his interests; the official publishers find such an omission "inexplicable," but their proposal to accept the rotunda as Pausanias's third temple brings other difficulties in its train.



SANCTUARY OF ATHENA PRONAIA. (Marmaria)

"École Française d'Athènes. Fouilles de Delphes, Tome II. Le Sanctuaire d'Athèna Pronaia. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1926." By permission.

LVII

(1) PLAN OF RUINS AT LILAEA

(2) PLAN OF RUINS AT CHARADRA (?)

PLAN OF RUINS AT LILAEA

"LILAEA is a winter day's journey from Delphi: the way lies across and down Parnassus; we judged the distance to be 180 furlongs"; so Pausanias (x. 33. 2), who also observes that the climate of the place "is good in autumn, summer, and spring, but owing to Mt. Parnassus its winters are not correspondingly mild." The well-preserved ruins are situated at the N.-W. foot of Parnassus, a mile or so W. of the copious springs which the ancients regarded as the source of the Cephissus, though they are not actually its highest source; they rise at the N. base of the mountain. The grey walls and towers climb a steep and rugged hillside, the last fall of Parnassus to the plain of the Cephissus; the place can receive very little sun at any time of the year.

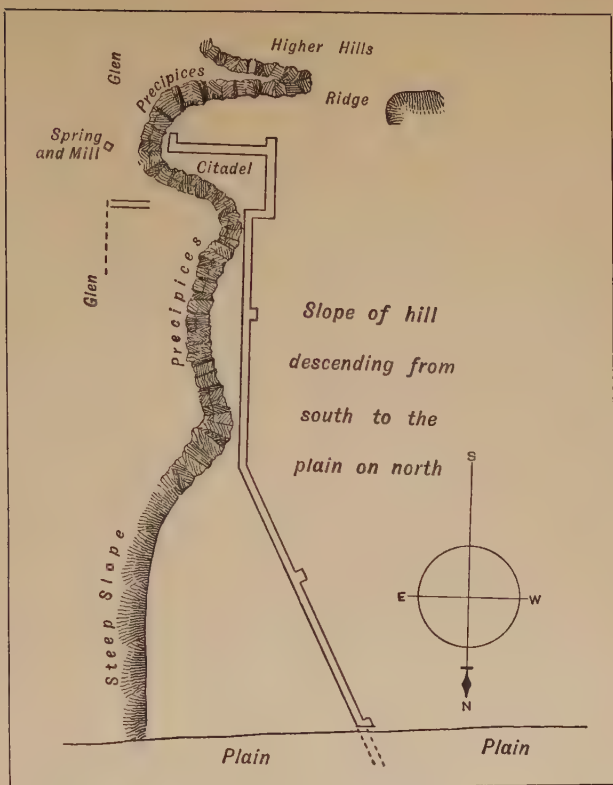
The situation of the Acropolis is striking and peculiar. The walls, flanked with square towers, ascend the steep rocky bushy slope of the hill at a short distance to the W. of the precipices which terminate it on the E., gradually approaching them till only a narrow strip of shelving rocky ground is left between them and the brink; this strip varies from 50 yards in width to a space only broad enough to allow a passage between the walls and the crags; at one place the slope begins at the very foot of the wall. Towards the summit the wall makes an angle to W. and leaves a somewhat wider but still very small space between it and the precipices on the E.; this narrow area, enclosed by walls on three sides and by precipices on the fourth, was the citadel proper; the massive and tall walls and towers on the hillside below were apparently intended merely to connect the tiny citadel with the town, the scanty remains of whose walls may be seen at various points in the plain and in the glen that bounds the hill on the E. Walls and towers are finely and solidly built of squared blocks laid in horizontal courses. Down the E. side of the glen there flows a stream to join the Cephissus; and on the W. side of the glen, just at the foot of the immense perpendicular crag which is crowned by the fortifications of the citadel, rises a small spring.

PLAN OF RUINS AT CHARADRA (?)

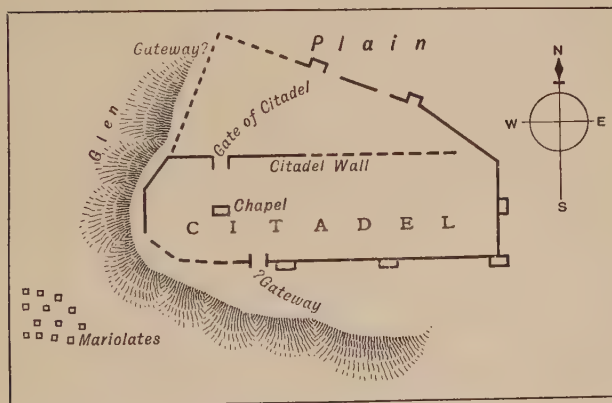
AFTER describing Lilaea, Pausanias continues (x. 33. 3): "Twenty furlongs off is Charadra, perched on a high crag. The inhabitants are ill off for water. Their drinking supply is furnished by the river Charadrus, but they have to go down about three furlongs to fetch it. The Charadrus falls into the Cephissus. . . ."

The probable site of Charadra is a steep rocky hill, perhaps 400 ft. high, which projects slightly into the plain from the foot of Parnassus near the village of Mariolates, *ca.* 3 miles N.-W. of Lilaea. The brook which in winter flows through the glen on its W. side is probably the Charadrus; its bed is dry as late as October. The very steep rocky slope of the hill towards the glen on the W. would seem to be the "high crag"; on the S. the hill descends gradually to the glen, which here makes a bend. On the E. the hill is connected with higher rocky hills by a saddle; on the N. it slopes steeply to the Cephissian plain.

The plan shows the lines of both the outer circuit, which embraced not only the summit but a great part of the N. slope of the hill, and the citadel, which is of a roughly quadrangular shape and measures *ca.* 150 by 70 yards. The masonry of walls and towers is on the whole of the regular ashlar sort; the blocks are large, squared, and laid in horizontal courses. The towers are *ca.* 21 ft. broad and project *ca.* 11 ft. In some places on the N. side the outer wall abuts against the rugged rocks which jut from the hillside; the inner wall of the citadel, along the N. brow of the hill, is partly built upon the rocks; the masonry of its part to E. of the gateway is not so good as that of the circuit-wall, the blocks being smaller and rather irregular.



PLAN OF RUINS AT LILAEA



PLAN OF RUINS AT CHARADRA (?)

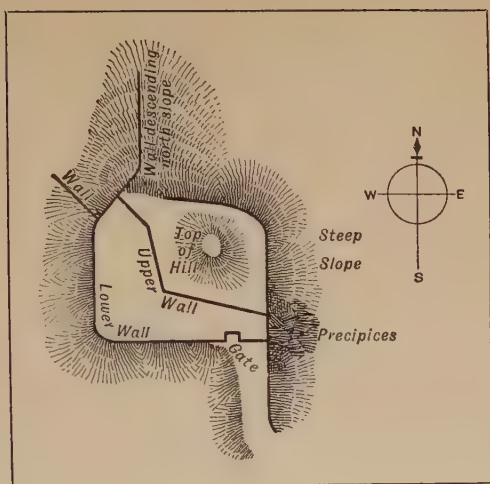
LVIII
ABAE

PAUSANIAS says (x. 35. 1) : " To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elatea " (near mod. *Drachmani*), " you follow a mountain road on the right of the town. The high road from Orchomenus to Opus also leads to these cities. If, then, you take the road that leads from Orchomenus to Opus, and turn off a short way to the left, you reach Abae." It stood in a side valley opening into the great valley of the Cephissus on the E. side of the latter, a little way to the N. of the narrow defile through which the Cephissus passes from Phocis into Boeotia. Its ruins occupy the summit of a sharp-pointed nearly isolated hill that rises on the E. side of the valley, from which, however, it is divided by a lower hog-backed hill. The remains of Hyampolis lie low down in the valley at a distance of only about a mile to the N.-W. of Abae. On the precipitous E. side of the hill of Abae, fortifications seem to have been omitted ; on the W. and S. sides it is defended, not very far below its summit, by two fortification-walls, one above the other. The narrow N. face has no wall running along it, but a wall (now very ruinous) ascends the slope on this side, meeting the lower of the two " circuit "-walls at the N.-W. corner of the hill ; from this point begins the upper " circuit "-wall. The summit is not a tableland : it descends in unbroken slopes on all sides from the very small top. The walls are mostly ruinous, but many isolated pieces are standing to a height varying from 5 to over 9 ft. The masonry is of the fine polygonal sort ; the blocks, many of which are of great size, are hewn into a great variety of shapes, fitted neatly together, and smoothed on their outer faces. On the whole the lower wall is built of larger blocks than the upper and is better preserved. The walls seem not to have been flanked with towers except at the S. gateway ; but the outer wall makes several salient angles. Most ruinous of all is a wall which descends the hill from the lower " circuit "-wall in a N.-W. direction ; it is traceable for a short way, but only in the form of a heap of broken stones, except just at the point where it starts.

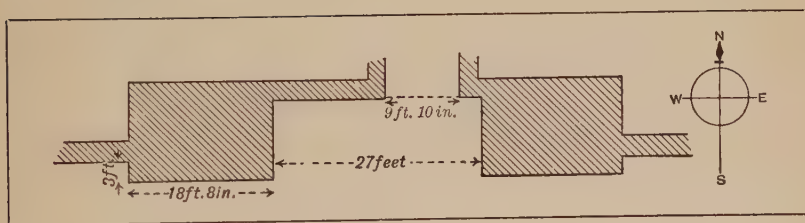
The main approach was evidently by a saddle from the S., where lower hills afford a gradual ascent. Here, accordingly, is the principal gateway, still in very good preservation though partly buried. It faces S., and only a short piece of wall intervenes between it and the E. precipices. The present width of the gateway at the level of the ground is 9 ft. 10 in., but the opening is narrowed towards the top by stones which project on each side. The lintel is still in place over the gateway : it is a single block of stone, 8 ft. long, 3 ft. 8 in. wide, and *ca.* 1 ft. 7 in. high. The gateway is set back from the line of the wall and is flanked on each side by a tower ; the E. tower is much nearer the gate ; the W. tower is by far the better preserved ; it is built of immense, well-fitted polygonal blocks. There is also a small gateway *ca.* 5 ft. wide, unflanked by towers, in the W. outer wall, and nearly opposite to it is a doorway *ca.* 3 ft. 6 in. wide in the inner (upper) wall.

The small rocky peak of the hill commands fine views of Parnassus to W., Helicon to S., and the more distant mountains of Boeotia to E. To N.-W. is seen the acropolis of Hyampolis.

At the N. foot of the neighbour hill of Abae on the W. many tombs seem to have been excavated. Here then was the necropolis of Abae, or perhaps of Hyampolis.



PLAN OF RUINS AT ABÆ



PLAN OF GATEWAY AT ABÆ

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